Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-94-039 *28 February 1994*

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UN's Akashi Meets With Martic, Milosevic

Serbs Agree To Withdraw From Bridge

LD2502172994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 25 February (TANJUG)—The UN secretary-general's special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, and the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, Milan Martic, reached an agreement in Belgrade today on the bridge between Gradiska and Stara Gradiska. They agreed that the situation on the bridge is to be restored to what it was on 18 February when the police of the Republic of Serb Krajina took control of the bridge from the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces].

After one hour of talks, Akashi and Martic said that it was agreed that the UN peace forces are to withdraw armored personnel carriers deployed around the bridge over the past few days and that, at the same time, members of the ministry of internal affairs of the republic of Serb Krajina are to withdraw as well.

Akashi, Milosevic Discuss Bosnia

LD2502184294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Yasushi Akashi, head of the UN peace mission for the former Yugoslavia, said in Belgrade today that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] is more optimistic than ever before regarding further progress in reaching a lasting peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Following one-hour talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Akashi told journalists that he was encouraged by President Milosevic's readiness to support the United Nations and UNPROFOR in their mission, and added that the talks were very useful.

The head of the UNPROFOR mission in the former Yugoslavia rejected the possibility that the United Nations could set an ultimatum to the warring sides in Bosnia, stressing that the word ultimatum does not exist in the United Nations' vocabulary.

Akashi said that he had informed President Milosevic about an agreement reached today with Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina, on the resolution of the problem that has arisen between UNPROFOR and the Krajina police regarding the bridge near Nova Gradiska.

We also discussed the latest developments in Sarajevo and other important issues, such as Mostar and Tuzla, he said. The UN envoy explained that they had discussed the opening of Tuzla airport and said: We would like to resolve this issue in a peaceful and diplomatic way. UNPROFOR is ready to provide certain guarantees to those who think that the airport could be used for other than humanitarian purposes. We are ready to guarantee that Tuzla airport will be used for humanitarian purposes only. If the presence of officers of both sides is necessary we are ready to let it be so, Akashi said.

He did not rule out fresh ideas on the resolution of that issue, which would offer greater guarantees. We think it important to resolve that issue (Tuzla airport) through an agreement between all sides, Akashi said.

Stating that he also discussed with Milosevic the initiative to set up a Muslim-Croat confederation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Akashi said that he believed that the initiative was good. That is a step toward a comprehensive peace that should not, however, involve only two, but all sides, Akashi said.

Concerning the massacre at Sarajevo's Markale market, Akashi said that a special five-member UN commission reached a conclusion that the shell could have been fired from Serb or Muslim positions. We cannot ascribe the responsibility to any of the two sides, but we are sure that a 120-mm mortar shell could have caused such tragic consequences, Akashi stressed.

Asked about a secret UN report which says the Muslim side is responsible for the massacre, he said that he had heard various reports but that he had to stick to the conclusions of the five experts.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic declared on Akashi's departure that the talks with the head of UNPROFOR were cordial and open and that they reiterated the desire of Yugoslavia and Serbia to see peace in Bosnia as soon as possible.

President Milosevic, Jovanovic said, expressed deep satisfaction at the success achieved today by Mr. Akashi and [Serb Krajina] president Martic in normalizing the situation surrounding the bridge across the Sava.

The president recalled the support we lent to the Vance plan and its implementation and underlined that we were convinced all issues that crop up could be and should be resolved through dialogue, Jovanovic added.

The Yugoslav foreign minister stressed that the talks with Akashi emphasized the problem of the sanctions as an obstacle to peace, because the Muslim side is still relying on hopes that the sanctions will help it achieve what it could not achieve on the battlefield. He said that Akashi was told that the lifting of the sanctions would shorten the road to peace and relieve the Muslims of that last grand illusion.

Asked about the Yugoslav stand on the opening of Tuzla airport, Jovanovic stressed that the Serb side in Bosnia should negotiate and decide on that. We believe that this is basically a marginal and artificial problem that arose when the Muslim side had to be protected against their responsibility for the failure of the peace plan on Bosnia. The issue of Tuzla airport should not evolve into a problem that could threaten the peace process, and give a fresh impetus to the advocates of the war option to further aggravate the situation in Bosnia.

Jovanovic went on to say that this issue could be effectively solved by introducing control of the airport, which would involve the Bosnian Serbs, and which would theoretically and in practical terms rule out any possibility of the airport being misused for other [than humanitarian] purposes.

Jovanovic stressed that the issue of opening the airport in Banja Luka would probably be raised at the same time as that of Tuzla airport, because that [Serb-held] area needs humanitarian aid.

Milosevic's Office Comments

LD2502182894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic this afternoon received Yasushi Akashi, special envoy for the UN secretary general and head of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mission, and General Jean Cot, commander of the UN peacekeepers for the former Yugoslavia.

According to the Serbian president's office, the talks centered on issues relating to a political solution of the Yugoslav crisis and the implementation of the UN forces' mandate. President Milosevic expressed his satisfaction at the successful talks between Yasushi Akashi and Milan Martic on surmounting tensions surrounding the bridge across the Sava River at Gradiska, stressing that Serbia, as usual, prefers to resolve disputes through political dialogue instead of confrontation.

The Republic of Serbia has been extending and will continue to extend support to the implementation of the UN peace plan, which does not prejudge political solutions but leaves this up to negotiations in conditions of a stable peace.

The head of UNPROFOR's mission informed President Milosevic about viewpoints pertaining to the latest developments and future activities, in the context of the peace process for former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The talks were also attended by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic.

Belgian Troops in Croatia Sent to Bosnia

LD2602192194 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Excerpts] In Bosnia the cease-fire between Croats and Muslims has been respected on the whole, UN forces have said. [passage omitted]

Belgium will be sending UN soldiers. Soon 150 Belgian UN soldiers will leave Baranja, in eastern Croatia, for central Bosnia. A vanguard of a dozen Belgian soldiers has already left. The Belgian infantry is equipped with some 15 armored vehicles. The number of Belgian troops in Bosnia will thus total some 450 soldiers.

Mazowiecki Views Rights Situation in Bosnia

AU2502151594 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 25 Feb 94 p 4

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special rapporteur of the UN Human Rights Commission for the former Yugoslavia, by Helga Hirsch; place and date not given: "Helplessness is Outrageous"]

[Text] [Hirsch] Have the Serbs really fulfilled the demands of the West so far that an air strike is no longer necessary?

[Mazowiecki] To be really able to assess how far they have placed their weapons under UN control, one would have to study the situation on the spot. Undoubtedly, however, the development proves that resolute pressure can force decisions. The point is now that the things that have been achieved are not lost.

[Hirsch] Will the Russian UN contingent really be neutral?

[Mazowiecki] As part of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], the Russians have to observe its rules. On the other hand, Russia has, of course, achieved a political success.

[Hirsch] In the West, many opposed any military intervention by saying that the political objective of the war is unclear. Might the West not be involved in intricate fights for an incalculable period?

[Mazowiecki] Conversely, I am asking: What would happen without intervention? Is the alternative supposed to be: Let them bleed to death...?! Helplessness is outrageous in the event of such serious human rights violations. As early as August 1992, President Alija Izetbegovic told me that bombs have to be dropped if the heavy weapons are not withdrawn. At that time, this also seemed to be exaggerated to me. However, I am convinced that it would have been possible to get the weapons under control by strong political pressure as early as one and a half years ago.

[Hirsch] How much is the West also to blame for the escalation of the conflict?

[Mazowiecki] It started with the absence of any ideas for a global solution in the former Yugoslavia: How the rights of nations and nationalities could be preserved if Yugoslavia disintegrates. Slovenia and Croatia were recognized without clarifying what would be done with small Bosnia. The second mistake was made with the London conference or the lack of preparedness to implement its resolutions. At that time, in August 1992, all committed themselves to refrain from further "ethnic cleansing," to dissolve the prison camps, and not to prevent humanitarian help any longer. And what happened? None of the resolutions was adhered to, but the negotiations continued. When the monitoring of the embargo really began on the border between Bosnia and Serbia in the spring of 1993, the Serbs threatened to shell

Rome or Paris or Vienna—and the West yielded to the threats. All the time it was like this: First the West announced a resolute course of action and then it stated that it could not be implemented. Undoubtedly, the hesitation spurred the warring parties on.

[Hirsch] How do you explain the helplessness of the West?

[Mazowiecki] There is the fear that, for example, the death of every English soldier will lead to troubles in Great Britain: "We will not die for Sarajevo." I understand this fear. But can criminals be tolerated without any consequences? The situation was certainly different in 1939. But there is a parallel to that time, when nobody wanted to die for Gdansk.

In addition, the "Vietnam complex" continues to be felt. On the other hand, let us not forget that the man in the street in Paris, Bonn, Warsaw, or London asks the justified question: If it was possible to intervene in Iraq, why can this not also be done in Bosnia?

[Hirsch] The longer the war lasts, the more every side will make itself guilty....

[Mazowiecki] Unfortunately.

[Hirsch] ....and therefore the West is increasingly justified in talking of a fratricidal war. Do you still see clear differences in the guilt of the warring parties?

[Mazowiecki] Certainly. The policy of "ethnic cleansing," with all its brutality, was applied by the Bosnian Serbs. Then it was again revived in the Croatian-Muslim conflict—above all by the Croatian side. In view of such a cruel policy, the respective other side—also the Muslims—carried out reprisals.

[Hirsch] Do you know of cases where Muslims shot at their own people to force the West to intervene?

[Mazowiecki] I have heard of such cases, but I can neither confirm nor deny them because I did not investigate them myself. However, one should bear in mind that the Bosnian Government has the greatest difficulties in controlling its irregular troops. A desperate act of an individual or a unit cannot be completely ruled out. I think that such a course of action is unlikely as a deliberate tactic of the government. If this became known, it would be completely compromised and would have to expect even greater pressure from the West to sign a peace treaty.

[Hirsch] What is known about the situation of the raped women? How many prisoners and how many camps are still there?

[Mazowiecki] According to the International Red Cross, there are still 4,000 people in prisons and camps. The number of rapes has apparently decreased. However, they still occur on all sides. The children also deserve particular attention: According to experts' estimates, 280,000 children have been indirectly or directly involved in the war. Some 16,000 have probably died.

[Hirsch] What political solution is realistic after these horrors?

[Mazowiecki] The pressure for the settlement of the basic problems has to continue resolutely: All prisoners have to be released and all camps have to be dissolved. Unhindered access has to be ensured for the convoys providing humanitarian help. It is extremely difficult to negotiate a solution. On the one hand, certain realities and, on the other, law and justice have to be taken into account. In my opinion, however, a peace process that makes a pluralist coexistence gradually possible is feasible after the demilitarization of the territory. But the presence of international forces and institutions will be required for a long time.

Commentary Sees B-H Aircraft Incident as Test

AU2802111594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Commentary by Martin Minkov]

[Text] There is no doubt that this [downing of planes in Bosnia-Herzegovina] is a very serious incident, but in my view one should not overdramatize the situation. The planes were downed as a result of them violating the no-fly zone that was imposed under the UN resolution last year, and it has no direct connection with the NATO ultimatum that, as our listeners are certainly well aware, led to the peace that reigns in Sarajevo at the moment. However, what is alarming is that the violation of the no-fly zone happened after the ultimatum. In my view, it is this aspect that transforms the violation into a deliberate provocation aimed at testing out [the no-fly zone] and establishing to what extent the international community, represented by NATO, is firm in its intention to use force in the event of an action that contravenes the categorical conditions specified in the key documents—the UN resolution on the no-fly zone and the NATO ultimatum.

The point of the sounding-out operation was to find out the following: If, in the event of a violation of the no-fly zone, the monitoring forces limited their reaction merely to a warning, then if the NATO ultimatum was breached, one might also be able to get off scot-free, speaking figuratively. It is now clear that this will not be the case, and the people who continue to look for loopholes in the firmly adopted stances should draw the proper conclusions, namely that they [the NATO forces] will act firmly, that is, use weapons, in the event of any attempted violation.

Regarding the issue of the identity of the planes in question, at the moment it appears that they belonged to the Bosnian Serbs, according to NATO claims. However, the Bosnian Serbs hastened to deny that this was the case, and Belgrade also says it knows nothing. There has been no official reaction from the Croatian and Muslim sides. Accordingly, all this has to be further investigated. Nonetheless, it is most likely that the planes belonged to the Bosnian Serbs, who are in the best position to deny the fact. It is very doubtful whether anyone in Pale, or wherever else their military command is located, would allow himself to conduct such an experiment without first consulting Belgrade and without carefully considering the possible consequences if the planes were downed, as in fact was the case. Since the attempt did not come off, the position of denial or possibly shifting blame to some third-level commander is now the only possible alternative, to prevent an escalation of the international military pressure on the Bosnian Serbs.

NATO's Beard Finalizes Cooperation Program

AU2502194094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Robin Beard, NATO assistant secretary general for defense support, ended his two-day visit to Bulgaria today. Before leaving, he held a final meeting in Sofia with the President's Military Office, at which the participants exchanged information on the preparation of concrete programs for cooperation between Bulgaria and NATO under the Partnership for Peace initiative.

At a news briefing given at the Defense Ministry, Mr. Beard summed up the results of his visit, describing it as fruitful. During his visit, he said, he finalized a program for multilateral cooperation that will strengthen the links between Bulgaria and NATO. The program covers issues concerning the relations between civilian and military structures in the fulfillment of military programs and ways to implement state deliveries. It was agreed that three groups of NATO experts would visit Bulgaria with the task of providing assistance in information technology in connection with the administration of joint military programs.

Havel 'Deeply Shaken' by Hebron Massacre

LD2602174294 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Excerpts] President of the Republic Vaclav Havel is deeply shaken and outraged by the massacre in Hebron. [passage omitted]

Vaclav Havel hopes that Israeli authorities will investigate the incident and that they will draw tough conclusions and introduce security measures. The Czech president believes that this tragic event will not jeopardize the continuation of peace talks between the PLO and Israel.

Havel on Domestic Political Scene, Baudys

LD2702175394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Interview with President Havel by Robert Tamchyna at the Lany presidential residence in Prague on 27 February; from the "Conversations at Lany" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Tamchyna] Incompetence or going beyond one's authority—these were the words used in connection with the personal initiative by Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys on resolving the conflict in the Balkans. These are the final assessments, I would say. I think, however, that you, given your position, have been trying to find some rational explanation of this unusual political move, as it were, because this move ignored a minister's subordination to government policy. Have you found this explanation?

[Havel] This appears to be a popular topic these days, and one is reluctant to comment further on it because many comments have already been made. Nevertheless, it seems to me that it is my duty to add a little more.

I am unable to find a proper explanation. Minister Baudys's intention was undoubtedly noble. But the whole matter was so dilettantish that it broke all of the elementary rules of diplomacy, politics, and so on. This was almost shocking. I firmly believe that the sensation it caused and the degree of shame it generated for our Republic is perhaps a sufficient lesson to all of us to exercise caution.

At issue here is not merely the fact that Minister Baudys failed to consult our constitutional officials on his original idea, whose content was very contentious, by the way. The point here is that this is not the way in which international initiatives should be pursued. [passage omitted]

It was so absolutely dilettantish from start to finish, and I firmly hope that nothing of this kind will ever be repeated. But, should that be the case, the consequences of it would have to be more serious.

[Tamchyna] Conditions of the NATO ultimatum to Bosnia have, on the whole, been met. The world can take a deep breath in the few days to come. Mr. President, despite all of this, don't you feel that Minister Baudys's personal position, presented to the world, or the discrepancies between your statement and the statement by the Czech prime minister could send a signal to the world that our foreign policy is not completely united on this currently very important issue?

[Havel] The fact that representatives of the same state hold contradictory views does not, of course, create a very good impression. [passage omitted]

The fact is, however, that the state must have its own foreign policy and direction, which it has. I think that, in principle, all of us are acting within the foreign policy constraints. In some cases, it might appear that some have gone beyond these constraints. It appears that all of them should give careful thought to what they are saying, and they should be aware that thinking aloud, which is often well intended, can give an altogether different impression once journalists get hold of it. [passage omitted]

[Tamchyna] In the light of some political evergreens repeatedly discussed by the government, it seems that the fine and sensitive fabric of relations within the ruling coalition is not always as firm as it should be. Mr. President, in this context, what do you think about the two election bills [on local and Senate elections] approved by the government this week?

[Havel] First, I am pleased to see that these bills have actually been passed by the government and that they will soon go through the parliament. Given that local elections and elections to the Senate are scheduled for this fall, it is high time to get these bills ready. I think that retaining the principle of a combined electoral system in the bill on elections to local and city councils is a good thing. [passage omitted]

As for the elections to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, it is absolutely proper, and I think that it is a good thing that elections to the Chamber of Deputies should be based on the proportional representation system and that, as prescribed by the Constitution, elections to the Senate should be based on the majority system.

I do not wish to declare this categorically, but I myself favor the principle of small-sized constituencies with one seat. This was agreed by the government. This is, indeed, a clear majority system as prescribed by the Constitution. From the voters' point of view, the system is easier to understand; I think it is correct. [passage omitted]

Klaus on Situation in Customs Union, Bosnia

AU2802120594 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 19 Feb 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Martin Danes; place and date not given: "Slovakia Should Devalue its Currency"]

[Excerpt] [Danes] Are you completely satisfied with the result of Wednesday's [16 February] extraordinary session of the Customs Union Council?

[Klaus] We achieved what we could. The reversal of Slovakia's one-off measures and the fact that further solutions will be sought were the only way out of the situation. The fact that Slovakia, in the current political crisis, does not want to deal with its economic problems in a more emphatic manner is not unusual; it is even very common. Therefore, I do not anticipate that the current Slovak political representatives would, within the context of the political crisis, demonstrate more meaningful courage and adopt a more radical measure, a measure that would certainly not do them any good on the domestic scene.

[Danes] Do you think that the measure adopted by Slovakia on 11 February—requiring special certificates testifying to the quality of imported foodstuffs—was motivated unequivocally by an attempt to reverse its unfavorable situation in the clearing account?

[Klaus] Of course. Slovakia is making a monthly payment for exceeding the clearing account that amounts to roughly 10 percent of its foreign currency reserves. That is a distressing sum.

[Danes] Do you not view the future of the Czech-Slovak Customs Union skeptically? The current situation of recurring Slovak deficits in the clearing account is not beneficial to either of the partners.

[Klaus] The situation in the clearing account is not a repercussion of the Customs Union. It is a consequence of the Slovak koruna's poor exchange rate. So, I believe that the Slovak koruna's exchange rate will be devalued, and not the Customs Union.

[Danes] You issued a statement last week on the Allies' ultimatum in Bosnia, and, shortly afterwards, the president issued a completely different one. Would it not be in the interest of the Czech Republic's good name abroad to coordinate your stances on such fundamental international issues in advance?

[Klaus] I think these differences are being overstated. I do not think that this has caused a tragedy in our country. Let us not look for fundamental disputes in these statements. I am absolutely certain that, in the United States, Great Britain, and France, various opinions are being expressed on how to resolve this terribly difficult problem. There are radical and less radical opinions in these countries, opinions that emphasize an internal solution and opinions that emphasize an external solution. I think that emphasis on the fact that air strikes per se will probably not solve anything is the majority opinion, at least judging by the way I interpret the reactions of world politicians. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Outlines Bosnian Peace Plan

AU2502172694 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 21 Feb 94 p 2

[Interview with Defense Minister Antonin Baudys by Lubos Palata on 20 February; place not given: "I Was Trying To Specify the Causes of the War, Says Baudys"]

[Text] Ankara—Defense Minister Antonin Baudys feels that his initiative differs from the previous plans for ending the war in Bosnia because he was trying to specify the real causes of the conflict. "In my opinion, they are ethno-religious ones," he said in an interview for MLADA FRONTA DNES during yesterday's flight to Ankara, where he was headed on an official visit.

[Palata] What is the most important point in your proposal?

[Baudys] The essence of my plan is an attempt to find a way of ending the war that ensures that the fighting does not break out again. The means that peace must be associated with disarmament. All of the warring parties must simply be given unequivocal guarantees that the conflict will be resolved in such a way that none of them can feel at a disadvantage. The solution must be acceptable to everyone; this should be guaranteed by the states allied with the individual sides in the conflict. It is important that police units and not troops provide direct protection.

We do not know the solution to the conflict yet, but we want to stop the war. The aim of my proposal is to seek a solution and to give the warring sides guarantees that this will proceed in a just and responsible manner.

[Palata] Did you consult anyone on your initiative?

[Baudys] I did not consult anyone, apart from a group of my closest friends, who took part in formulating the proposal with me. I did not consult anyone in the government, parliament, or other parties for the simple reason that the decision on whether this initiative is accepted must be made by those authorized to do so—the UN Security Council and representatives of the NATO countries. I did not consider a discussion on the domestic political level to be appropriate.

[Palata] Do you think that the European Union's peace plan could form the basis for a solution?

[Baudys] It is certainly a good plan, although I do not have enough information to be able to say responsibly what is better and what is not. I submitted this initiative in order to broaden the spectrum of possible solutions.

[Palata] Disarming the warring sides is the first point in your plan. How do you intend to achieve this?

[Baudys] My proposal does not envisage disarming the warring sides in the form of a NATO ultimatum; it banks on guarantees from the Goodwill Committee and on the agreement of the warring sides.

[Palata] Should the Czech Republic also take part in the work of the Goodwill Committee?

[Baudys] I think the Security Council must make this decision. I do not think, however, that it would be feasible for the Czech Republic to send its units to resolve this conflict. The situation may develop the other way round. It may turn out that my initiative will be rejected because it proves to be unimplementable. I have merely tried to find a way to a solution.

Havel Supports Peace Initiative in Angola

LD2502235394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] President Vaclav Havel today sent a letter to the coordinating committee of the humanitarian campaign "for peace in Angola," with its headquarters in Lisbon. He has thus added his voice to the humanitarian campaign of Africa Amiga, whose aim is to halt the war in Angola. This action, which ends on Sunday, also received support at the beginning of February from Pope John Paul II.

Zieleniec Returns From Visit to Switzerland

LD2502215094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec today returned from a two-day visit of Switzerland, where he had talks with his counterpart, Flavio Cotti, and with the president of the Swiss Confederation, Otto Stich. He had this to say, among other things, about the outcome of his trip:

[Begin Zieleniec recording] The character of the visit was primarily to put a seal on the present level of relations between our two countries. We have also signed mutual letters, in which we have confirmed the validity of obligations both countries have against each other in international law. Moreover, Switzerland is our important trade partner. Despite its being such a small country, it occupies 12th position in our trade relations with the outside world, which is very remarkable. It was therefore natural that we should have also discussed matters concerning the expansion of trade and economic cooperation. Swiss companies are participating with distinction in the process of the transformation of the economy. I have, however, also noted that the first swallows of our capital expansion, if I may say so, have appeared in Switzerland. Some of our companies have already set up mixed companies or branches directly in Switzerland. [end recording]

Tamara Manufacturer Refuses To Sell to Iran

AU2502135494 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 21 Feb 94 p 2

[Afrticle by Jaroslav Kmenta: "Iran Wants Tamara, but the Manufacturer Will Not Sell"]

[Text] Prague—The Islamic Republic of Iran has several times shown an interest in the Tamara passive radar system, the Czech state-of-the-art air defense product that, according to the experts, is even capable of detecting the "invisible" U.S. Stealth aircraft. This information has been confirmed by Ludek Stodulka, vice president of the HTT Group, which manufactures Tamara. He emphasized, however, that HTT will not sell it to this country.

Although Iran is not one of the countries to which arms exports are banned, many foreign politicians nevertheless consider it to be a very-high-risk region. "We respect the state's interest in not supporting the arming of this region," added Stodulka.

According to him, countries such as India, China, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand could purchase Tamara. France is also interested in it.

Tamara and its predecessor, Ramona, have only been exported to some of the countries of the former East bloc. At the moment, Tamara is also owned by the German Bundeswehr, which acquired it from the former GDR National People's Army, and the Americans. Apparently, they got it for trials from the Polish Army's weaponry. The former Czechoslovakia also sold Tamara to Syria.

The HTT Group has also developed a civilian version of Tamara, said Stodulka. He added that the company could supply Tamara, for example, to the police force or the taxi service. The radio impulses that the equipment receives from the atmosphere could determine precisely the location of vehicles in a city.

According to Stodulka, Tamara could even be used in the hunt for those who kidnap children. If a child were kidnapped along with its baby carriage, the radar system could monitor the culprit's movements. Stations that could receive and analyze the appropriate signals would have to be set up in a city for these purposes.

Prague Criticizes Austria's Anti-Temelin Stance

AU2502132294 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1100 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Prague is sharply criticizing Austria's initiative against the Temelin nuclear power plant. Czech Industry Minister Dlouhy reproaches the members of the Austrian delegation for having completely distorted the facts in Washington. He again talks of interference in his country's internal affairs.

Prague has now also sent representatives to Washington. They are to secure the U.S. loan promised for the completion of the nuclear power plant.

Falbr Elected Leader of New Trade Union

AU2502142994 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 21 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by "(lek)": "Falbr at the Head of the New Trade Union"]

[Text] Hradec Kralove—Richard Falbr, until now the chairman of the Czech-Moravian Service Employees Trade Union, has been elected leader of the UNIOS trade union, which was established on Friday [18 February] by the merger of trade unions representing workers in services, the gas industry, and foreign trade. The new union has approximately 80,000 members.

Statistics Office Reports 1993 Economic Trends

AU2502124794 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Feb 94 pp 1, 3

[Article by Antonin Jilecek, of the Czech Statistical Office: "Developments in the Czech Republic's Economy in 1993"]

[Text] Economic development in the Czech Republic last year was influenced not only by the continuing transformation of the economy, including the introduction of a new taxation system, but also, and especially, by the establishment of the independent Czech state and the subsequent currency separation.

Industrial output in the Czech Republic in December 1993 was 4.0 percent lower than in December 1992. It fell by 5.3 percent in 1993 as a whole compared with 1992. Organizations with 100 or more employees had a decisive influence on the decline. In 1993, the average monthly wage in industrial organizations with 25 or more employees was 5,962 korunas [Kc] and was thus 23.8 percent higher than in 1992. The number of state enterprises declined; on the other hand, the number of business associations and cooperatives increased. Construction output fell at the end of 1993 and, in December, was 20.5 percent lower than in December 1992. The volume of construction output for 1993 as a whole was 7.5 percent lower than in 1992. The average gross monthly wage in organizations with 25 or more employees was Kc6,566 and 28.6 percent higher than in 1992.

The volume of goods conveyed by public freight transportation in 1993 was 200.6 million tonnes; it declined by 13.2 percent. Railroad freight transportation declined by 9.4 percent. In view of the increasing exports, however, 14.9 percent more wagons were used to transport cargo abroad. In public road haulage, the percentage of international truck transportation increased.

In 1993, the potato harvest increased by 21.7 percent, rape by 25.9 percent, sugar beet by 11.2 percent, fruit by 13.1 percent, and vegetables by 19.1 percent. The cereal harvest declined by 1.5 percent. Compared with 1992, the sale of agricultural products from primary producers was 26.1 percent lower for slaughter poultry, 10.5 percent lower for milk, and 3.1 percent lower for slaughter cattle. The sale of slaughter hogs and eggs increased by 8.6 percent and 22.4 percent, respectively.

Foreign trade turnover (excluding the Slovak Republic) in 1993 amounted to Kc599 billion and was 10.6 percent higher than in 1992. Exports rose by 20 percent and imports by 2.7 percent. Exports fell in relation to the countries of the former East bloc. The balance of trade was in the red by Kc3.7 billion. When trade with Slovakia is included (exports of Kc74.6 billion; imports of Kc65 billion), the overall balance was in the black by Kc5.9 billion. The physical volume of retail sales rose by 1.0 percent in 1993, compared with 1992.

The number of registered job seekers increased gradually from July and, by 31 December, had reached 185,200 (50,400 more compared with the end of 1992). The unemployment rate at the end of the year was 3.5 percent. The average monthly rate of increase in consumer prices in 1993 was 1.4 percent. Following a more substantial rise in prices in January and February, caused in particular by the introduction of value-added and consumer taxes, the rate of increase in the succeeding months was approximately 0.5 percent. The exception was a higher rise in prices in September and October. This was influenced by increases in the prices of meat, meat products, and communications tariffs.

In December 1993, the level of consumer prices was 18.2 percent higher than in December 1992. The prices of services increased fastest (by 25.3 percent), and the prices of food products increased slowest (by 13.2 percent). The rate of inflation, expressed as the annual sliding average of the aggregate consumer price index, was 20.8 percent.

President Kovac Attends MKDH Assembly

LD2602144394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] republican assembly opened in Dunajska Streda this morning. It is attended by President Michal Kovac, who, in his greeting address, emphasized the importance of Hungarian political parties on our present political scene and said that difficulties arising in connection with minorities should be solved on the basis of civic principles. Equality of all citizens is the prime and basic cornerstone of democratic states and must not be questioned.

The speech by MKDH Chairman Vojtech Bugar analyzed the current political scene and emphasized that the MKDH considered that one of the most important tasks is to implement [Slovakia's] administrative and territorial division and to speed up putting self-administration in the sphere of education and culture on a legal basis.

Moravcik Says Prime Minister Often 'Ambiguous'

LD2502171794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik gave a news conference late this morning, probably his last as foreign minister. Journalists' questions concentrated mostly on the link between the internal political situation in Slovakia and Slovakia's international standing. [passage omitted]

[Begin Moravcik recording] Foreign countries have been monitoring the situation in our country very carefully. They have drawn one conclusion from our internal situation: that there is a trend here to implement certain elements of an authoritarian regime. This is one negative factor.

The second factor is the fact that statements by some politicians—above all, by the prime minister—are frequently ambiguous. This makes our internal politics rather incomprehensible, and this, of course, influences the conclusions drawn by foreign countries as regards their attitude toward our country. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Visits Karachi, Ankara

LD2602082594 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Excerpt] The government aircraft carrying Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and his entourage made two stopovers on the way back from China so that our leaders could have more political talks.

During the stopover at the airport in Karachi in southern Pakistan, Vladimir Meciar was received by a minister authorized by Prime Minister Bhutto, who was on a foreign trip at the time. Apart from political and economic issues, they discussed cooperation in tourism. In this respect, the Pakistani side was interested in the conditions for foreign capital entry into our market. A government delegation and a group of businessmen will come to Slovakia and examine the potential and forms of possible capital investments in our country.

The government aircraft landed in Ankara after a four-hour flight from Karachi. Vladimir Meciar met Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin there. Their conversation, which lasted approximately 30 minutes, focused, apart from political issues, on the problems of forming a Slovak-Turkish intergovernmental commission for economic cooperation. One of the other topics they discussed was a joint armaments program and the drafting of a plan on cooperation in the sphere of building oil and gas pipelines. The two sides also agreed that it was necessary to prepare a new cultural agreement. [passage omitted]

Returns From China, Briefs Media

LD2502162394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has described the mutual granting of most-favored-nation status as the greatest success of his official visit to the People's Republic of China. He said this at a news conference at Bratislava airport, immediately after the return of the Slovak delegation. The prifme minister considers Thailand to be an important trade and economic partner, too. According to Meciar, Slovakia has achieved a certain opening with regard to relations with Turkey, and Pakistani officials are also showing an interest in visiting Slovakia.

At the news conference, the prime minister refused to comment on the resignations of Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac and Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik. He said that so far he has not heard President's Kovac's stand and that he has not yet gathered enough information about the matter. He also failed to comment on the alleged statements by Jan Slota, the newly elected chairman of the Slovak National Party [SNS], who is said to have expressed admiration of Russian ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. The prime minister stressed that the SNS continues to be the coalition partner of the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia].

A trend toward implementing elements of an authoritarian regime is what is emerging when the internal political situation in Slovakia is assessed abroad. This was said by Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik at a news conference in Bratislava. He said that, if this proves to be true, Slovakia's position abroad, with regard to its integration into Europe, would suffer. Jozef Moravcik expressed the view that Slovakia's foreign policy orientation will be preserved because Slovakia has already taken important international legal steps in that direction, such as signing the association agreement with the European Union and the umbrella agreement on participating in the Partnership for Peace program.

Meciar: Kozyrev Cancellation 'Great Mistake'

LD2502200694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Prime Minister Meciar does not know why the visit to Slovakia by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev did not take place. He thought this was a great mistake because Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to Slovakia should have been discussed during Kozyrev's visit.

Roman Kovac News Conference After Resigning

LD2502140294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Our colleague Bernard Hornak is on the line from an extraordinary news conference given by Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac, who has resigned from his post.

[Hornak] At the opening of his news conference, Roman Kovac confirmed that at 0900 today he handed his resignation letter to President Michal Kovac. He repeated the reasons for his resignation. The main reason he gave was that he did not wish to be the cause of increased tension in our society. Neither did he want to see yet another wave of confrontation between the Cabinet and the president.

Answering a question as to what in his view is the future of the Alternative of Political Realism, Roman Kovac said that the Alternative was formed within the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia]. It has proposed a certain solution to the political crisis and has called for a return to democratic principles. At present, those deputies who have subscribed to the ideas of the Alternative are not changing their view.

Speaking about his future political line, Roman Kovac said that Slovakia needs a consensus and that, at present, on the basis of that consensus, he has held talks with the representatives of the National-Democratic Club [of the Slovak National Party], the Alliance of Democrats, and some nonparliamentary parties.

This is all for the time being from the presidium of the government.

No Plans To Leave Politics

LD2502203294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] At a news conference in Bratislava today, Slovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik reaffirmed his intention not to leave Slovak politics. Together with the group that, as a part of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, supported the Alternative of Political Realism, he intends to form a strong bloc oriented at the center of the political spectrum. This group counts on Cernak's [National Democratic] wing of the Slovak National Party and on the Alliance of Democrats of the Slovak Republic. But talks with other parties are also in progress.

Asked how he sees frequent changes in the post of Slovak foreign minister, inasmuch as in other countries foreign ministers retain their posts regardless of changes in the composition of elected coalitions, Jozef Moravcik said: A mechanism allowing this practice to be implemented should be created in Slovakia. Slovak foreign policy does not benefit from frequent changes.

Comments on Resignation

LD2502235094 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac gave a news conference today in connection with his decision to resign. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Peter Tomecek, another member of the Alternative of Political Realism has left your group. How do you see the future of this Alternative?

[Kovac] [passage omitted] I think that all of us who formed the Alternative know that there is a need to clean up this society, and I think they will maintain their position [on this issue]. We will be short one person, but that does not matter.

[Correspondent] You said that you were preparing a new political party. You have been having talks with various parliamentary parties. There has been some information from the lobbies that your views are close to that of Mr. Cernak [leader of the National Democratic Faction in the Slovak National Party]. Can you tell us more about the orientation of this new political entity, or, in other words, with whom would you be willing to cooperate?

[Kovac] The main reason for considering the creation of a new political party is the existence of a large group of citizens in Slovakia who are dissatisfied with all of the existing political parties. According to our analysis of public opinion, the main reason for this dissatisfaction is the inability of political forces to reach a sensible agreement. The political party we have in mind is a party that should be a new beginning, or a guarantee that a sensible political agreement is reached between Slovak political forces. That is what Slovakia needs more than anything at the present time.

[Correspondent] When will we hear more about it?

[Kovac] Maybe by the end of next week. [end recording]

Official Cited on Prague Talks on Slovak Minority

LD2502225094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Report on a telephone interview with Jozef Stank, Slovak charge d'affaires in Prague, by Marian Ondas on 25 February]

[Excerpt] [Ondas] Slovak Ambassador Ivan Mjartan had talks at the Slovak Embassy in Prague today with Czech Minister Igor Nemec about topical issues concerning the concept of the Czech Government's policy on minorities

policy and its relationship with minorities on the current Czech political scene. I have had a telephone conversation with Jozef Stank, the Slovak charge d'affaires, about some areas that were discussed today.

[Begin recording] [Stank] During the meeting with Minister Nemec, who is, among other things, in charge of the council for minorities as well as the council for scientific and technological development, we discussed above all the document whose concept had been approved recently by the Czech Government and that deals with the problem of national minorities. What is interesting for us in this document is, above all, the premise stating that a member of any national minority is above all a citizen of the Czech Republic [CR], and he is perceived as such from this civic principle. The best protection of the rights of members of national minorities is a democratic and legal system that guarantees the protection of the rights of all citizens.

[Ondas] I would like to ask: Did you find a common language in the key questions with your Czech partners?

[Stank] Let us say it frankly. This civic principle used in relation to national minorities is to a certain extent very interesting for us, and I think it could provide a certain alternative or certain understanding, certain approach also for us in this area. [passage omitted] [end recording]

SNS Elects Officers, Sets Short-Term Goals

LD2602215694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] The central council of the Slovak National Party [SNS], which was holding its meeting in Ruzomberok today, was setting up a new organizational structure of the party. (Eva Slavkovska) has been elected first deputy chairwoman, (Juraj Molnar) has been elected second chairman of the SNS, and (Zuzana Tvrda) was made central secretary.

Jozef Prokes, honorary chairman of the party, said that, after the extraordinary congress [19-20 February] in Zilina, approximately 10 percent of the over-6,000-strong party left the SNS with Ludovit Cernak [former SNS chairman].

The immediate objective of the party is to revive the party's activity, to start off the work of the new executive, which has shrunk from 19 to nine members, and to get ready for the setting up of a preelection coalition. In this respect, Jozef Prokes said that the SNS would not enter into coalition with the Party of the Democratic Left, the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, and Coexistence. He was not able to say yet who would be the election partner of the SNS. Jozef Prokes went on to say that parliamentary elections were the fastest and most stable solution to the current situation. As to the future orientation of the SNS on the political scene, Jozef Prokes said that the party wanted to clearly declare its views. He said the party would be more straightforward than up until now because the past policy of Ludovit Cernak was not clear, and it could not answer the question of whether the SNS was in coalition or in opposition.

Duray Wants Cabinet Posts for Support

AU2502111294 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 22 Feb 94 p 1

[Interview with Egyutteles Chairman Miklos Duray by Anna Vargova; place and date not given: "A Power and Financial Struggle"]

[Text] [Vargova] Mr. Chairman, J. Carnogursky said in an interview for SLOVENSKY DENNIK last week that it would be no problem to recall the government. The main problem would be to form a government that was not dependent on the votes of the Hungarian deputies. It seems that, at the moment, you and the opposition cannot find common ground....

[Duray] Your observation is correct from both the political and the tactical points of view. If the participation in the government of a specific political structure is not being given consideration, there is not sufficient reason for talking about support for a government in which it will not be represented. A vote of no confidence in V. Meciar is not connected with support for another government. This issue is associated with the political legitimacy of the parties in parliament, of which none, apart from the Slovak National Party, had an independent state in its program.

The fact that the government of the current prime minister has abused its power is something else. It wants to place economically loyal people around itself—loyal on account of their share in privatization. This is in fact causing cracks in the opposition, which is also interested in a share of privatization so that it can reward its supporters with "gifts" from it. This is partially a power and partially a financial struggle.

[Vargova] Mr. Duka-Zolyomi has emphasized that, if a grand coalition was discussed at the opposition's talks last year, it was a grand coalition in the broadest sense of the word. Does this mean that you were given specific promises?

[Duray] No one discussed a grand coalition with us. We declared our readiness to take part in such a government, but we received no offer. If I remember correctly, a grand coalition has been on the agenda since the beginning of last December, and, since that time, it has been clear that no consideration is being given to our participation in it.

[Vargova] If the situation were to change, which department would you be interested in?

[Duray] We are prepared for certain posts, including ministerial ones, in health care, the economy, education, and culture. We have experts capable of filling such posts, and I am convinced that they will do better than the current government.

Defense Ministry Allocated Sk10.4 Billion

LD2402222294 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 24 Feb 94

[Text] There are 10.4 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] earmarked in the 1994 state budget for the Slovak Defense Ministry. The sum is Sk2.2 billion higher than in 1993. However, this year's expenditures include payments into the Health Insurance Fund, hospital care, and pension insurance, as well as a contribution of Sk30 million for Slovakia's top sports and financial support of Sk34 million for studies at nonmilitary schools.

Foreign Minister Cited on Vojvodina Hungarians

LD2502215894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Excerpts] The institutionalized protection of minority rights was discussed at the Budapest consultation of youth organizations of the European Democratic Union. [passage omitted] Attila Kert reports:

[Kert] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky has spoken, among other things, about collective rights. Referring to his recent visit to Belgrade, he spoke with cautious optimism about the cultural autonomy efforts of the Hungarians in Vojvodina [Vajdasag]. He said that negotiations with President Milosevic can give rise to some optimism.

At the same time, the foreign minister said it was regrettable that the draft law on ensuring parliamentary seats for the representatives of the ethnic minorities in Hungary was not adopted in the Hungarian National Assembly by the required two-thirds majority. He stressed, however, that even now the Hungarian National Assembly had currently as many as 30 members from various nationalities. [passage omitted]

Goncz, Fur Comment on Army Preparedness

LD2502173894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] President Arpad Goncz, commander in chief of the armed forces, said that due to the southern Slav fighting, Hungarian soldiers must prepare themselves to defend peace. At a meeting with military leaders, Defense Minister Lajos Fur said that despite shrinking financial resources, the capability to mobilize and to react to unexpected challenges must be preserved.

In connection with the NATO Partnership for Peace, Fur stressed that it is in Hungary's basic interest to take advantage of this opportunity for cooperation since this will lead us to full membership. He said that it is necessary to prepare for joint training and joint military exercises, as well as Hungary's participation in peacekeeping.

Free Democrat Leader on Coalition Possibilities

LD2602175894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The national council of the biggest opposition party, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], held a session today. Party Chairman Ivan Petoe made a submission on the list of deputies and Gabor Kuncze, leader of the party's parliamentary group and the party's candidate for prime minister, on the coalition guidelines. Our staff member Peter Obersovszky spoke to Gabor Kuncze. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Obersovszky] In recent days the SZDSZ signed the liberal election agreement. [passage omitted] Many people feel that the most problematic situation would be if the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] got about 30 percent and would then be in a position to choose its coalition partners or to start forming a government. What would happen then? The SZDSZ has very many times been accused, explicitly or implicitly, that it is potentially willing to form a coalition with the HSP.

[Kuncze] It is worth repeating what we said at the SZDSZ's last delegates' assembly, that whereas on the one hand we strive to see the present coalition replaced, on the other hand we would not even dream of helping the HSP to victory. I also doubt whether it could get 30 percent.

But there is another viewpoint here, the viewpoint of the country's governability. It would not be a good thing if it turned out to be impossible to form a coalition after May and new elections had to be called. That is why we laid down our coalition guidelines. On the basis of these we are open to negotiations. The electorate can also see what kind of coalition the SZDSZ is willing to enter into, and we will be accountable on these points.

However, at this stage it is not worth saying any more than this with regard to the HSP, or any other parties. For the time being there exists but one agreement: this is at the center, the agreement of the liberal parties. [passage omitted] [end recording]

MDF To Follow Antall's Foreign Policies

LD2502220594 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] The foreign affairs spokesman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] has reaffirmed that the foreign policy that his party wishes to pursue is that hallmarked with the name of Jozsef Antall. The two main aims of this are European integration and the legal protection of Hungarians living beyond the borders. Gyorgy Csoti stressed that there is no better security guarantee than economic interconnections; for this reason the ruling party urges cooperation between the regions. In this endeavor, there is agreement between the parliamentary parties. The politician does not consider it likely that the Hungarian-Romanian and Hungarian-Slovak treaties will be signed in the near future because the two neighboring countries are not willing to accept minority protection guarantees.

Foreign Minister on Relations With Russia

LD2702200994 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1820 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Andrzej Olechowski by correspondent Grazyna Bukowska in Warsaw on 27 February; from the "Wiadomosci" bulletin—live or recorded]

[Text] [Olechowski] Good evening.

[Bukowska] Does the fact that the leaders of the Moscow August [as heard] coup have been set free change in any way our relations with Russia? Can this be seen as a threat to the partnership and to our relations in general?

[Olechowski] It can constitute a threat to everyone because it seems the situation in Russia is once again becoming tense. Again there is conflict between the president and parliament. There is no way one can tell how things will develop, whether they will move toward some sort of national accord—although it is not known what the basis for such accord would be—or whether the situation will develop toward confrontation. I am afraid that news developments will keep us in suspense.

However, fundamental and neighbourly relations cannot be ruined of course. They will be influenced by the fact that we cannot afford to—how to put it—be completely open in this situation with regard to Russia, which we could be today in different circumstances; provided we were internally convinced and without any doubt that we have sorted out our own problems with regard to relations with the West, that we knew were we were going and what our place was.

[Bukowska] You talk about openness. Isn't it that Russia is constantly trying to exert pressure on us and on European policy in general. Isn't it the case that Russia wants a situation where nothing can happen without it. Is our concept of foreign policy toward Russia perhaps too soft? One reads these commentaries that you are simply too soft as far as Russia is concerned...

[Olechowski] No, it is not like this. As I said, we know where we want to be, that we want to be part of the European Community, NATO, and western European institutions. The fact that Russia does not like it, that Russia does not generally like these institutions is understandable. Russia is a great country and a superpower. It has a different perception of the world and, of course, would like to have an impact on everything. It is understandable. A great country thinks in a different way than a small country. This does not mean that we have to change our way of thinking because our big neighbour thinks this way. No, and that is why we have no hesitations here. We are not faltering here. We are walking toward the West firmly and at a steady pace each day, and we do not have to talk about this with Russia because we are not moving in the direction of Russia.

[Bukowska] Thank you very much for the interview.

Luczak Discusses Cooperation With ROK Envoy

LD2502152694 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1341 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Feb—Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak received today Pang Yong-toc, ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Views were exchanged on possibilities for intensifying contacts between both countries, the government press office reports.

The ambassador emphasized that his country pursued its own political path, but wanted to maintain good relations with all states that respected this choice. He underscored that he hoped new cooperation with Poland in the scientific and technological field is established soon. He pointed out that an enlivening of contacts between health services of both countries would be desirable, as well as the signing of an agreement on mutual recognition of medical degrees.

Deputy Prime Minister Luczak expressed the view that different political systems did not have to make good bilateral relations impossible. He acknowledged that an expansion of trade cooperation would be beneficial to both countries.

Both sides agreed to the need for the resumption of exchanges of students, which was stopped some years ago, the communique says.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Defers Visit

LD2502212794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1648 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Feb—The official visit to Poland by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, scheduled for 28 February-1 March, has been deferred and will take place at another time, the Foreign Ministry Press and Information Department reported today.

The Foreign Ministry comunique adds that the visit has been deferred at the request of Minister Zlenko. A new date has not yet been decided upon.

Walesa Holds News Conference in Gdansk

WS2802113494 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26-27 Feb 94 pp 1-2

[Article by PAD and K.G.R.: "Walesa Persuades in Gdansk; I Am Still A Man of Balance"]

[Text] The Constitution should be passed before the presidential elections. During the Friday [25 February] press conference in Gdansk Television, Lech Walesa was arguing that he is a supporter of passing the constitution quickly. He gave assurances that he is still "a man of balance."

"Because, really, something must be agreed on," he said when asked about the constitution. If the constitution is "so deformed" that it will not allow the president to be the prime minister of the government, Lech Walesa declares that "many people," including himself, will not

agree to that. He argued that he does not want great power, but the possibility of making quick decisions.

According to Walesa, there is a possibility of building a coalition with the right-wing groupings. For the time being, Walesa is waiting "for someone to do this." He explains that he still wants to remain apolitical. If rightist leaders do not build such a coalition, he will organize it himself. He will then cease to be an apolitical president. He will take to "building a block which will allow us to do what should be done." Such a bloc will also help "win the next term of office," but it is a secondary task.

I am wondering whether such a romantic road that I am going on makes any sense in Poland at all, said Walesa. Perhaps the president should be linked to political configurations, have money, participate in making decisions concerning the granting of licenses, he wondered.

File-checking and decommunization must be carried out. Walesa does not say how this should be done. This should be discussed.

"It cannot be that the decisions made by the National Council of Radio and Television [KRRiT] are irrevocable. There are loopholes in the laws; if it should be necessary, some decisions of the council will have to be changed," stated Lech Walesa during the 25 February press conference.

In Gdansk the president once again complained about the work of KRRiT. He is wondering whether or not to recall its chairman before long.

Walesa believes that if "a few facts concerning the work of the council and the distribution of licenses" are revealed, the report of the council will be rejected by the Sejm. He did not rule out the possibility that the granting of licenses may be invalidated.

Discussing personnel issues, he said that he is convinced that if he has to build a pro-presidential bloc, "many of his closest aides will have to leave the Presidential Office." The president does not intend to cause a conflict by refusing to sign the appointment of a new finance minister. "If the prime minister approves of that person, I will sign the appointment because I support the prime minister," stated Walesa. According to the president, "Solidarity" and the people are right when they participate in demonstrations on the streets, because "it was supposed to be no longer that way." The president will persistently recall the pre-election declarations of the present government coalition so that "during the next elections the people will make the right choices."

* * *

Is Drzycimski Leaving?

Unofficial sources maintain that we can soon expect the recall of President Walesa's Press Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski. Asked about this by RZECZPOSPOLITA, Drzycimski answered that he neither confirms nor denies this. He added that "frequently the interested parties themselves are the last ones to hear decisions."

—by PAD

Walesa on Political Options, Freedom, Sejm

LD2502234094 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] For nearly one hour and a half Polish Television has transmitted a meeting between President Lech Walesa and journalists at the Gdansk television studios. At this televised news conference Walesa replied to many questions. Among other things he said the Constitution should be adopted before the presidential elections. We have for you but a few minutes from this long meeting. There are three questions, the first one about political options.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] You have recently called the right-wing leaders nincompoops. You said about the leader of the left that his idol was Stalin. About Solidarity you say it is no longer your Solidarity. So I wanted to ask what is your option.

[Walesa] I am carrying out precisely that which I have been asked to do by politicians, political parties, and the public. Recall, ladies and gentlemen, that during the period when I was forming the Belweder [presidential palace] set up, everyone thought that the president should be above parties, that he should not be linked to anyone, that he should be a mediator, that he should stand guard over, and so on. That is precisely what I have carried out. In connection with this today, I do not represent an option directly, although I have one. I hope I will not have to change this conception, which I also like.

[Unidentified correspondent] Your choice, as far as the latest foreign visit was concerned, was Latvia. Latvia, as we all know, is probably the country most at conflict or at odds with the Russian Federation because of its Russian minority. At the same time the president voiced hard words—received, by me for instance, with satisfaction—addressed at Russia. Is the president playing out some sort of major issue here of, say, positioning with respect to a powerful neighbor?

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen: As far as my trips outside the country are concerned, this too is perceived in a variety of ways by the public. My trips are programmed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is not my whim that I want to go somewhere.

Whereas as far as Latvia is concerned, it is indeed a big problem, and as far as Russia is concerned that is another problem. Ladies and gentlemen: Here there is—and yesterday, this sort of quarrel with you comes from us having enormously grand topics. [sentence as heard] For example, Russia and Latvia. Well, we have to speak about them. Is it just me who is supposed to speak about it? After all, we have stopped calling them to account for Katyn [burial site of murdered Polish officers in World War II], for the murders. The things that had been done, the things old Russia and the Soviet Union used to do, you just would not believe it; Hitler was a mere understudy. Don't you know that?

Now it is like this, we are now forgiving them, because it is no longer the same Russia, because there is no Soviet

Union, we behave—we, we understand this. How does Russia reply to this? It wants to be a superpower! It wants us again in its embrace!

You have to—of course not like me just now, not so emotionally—you have to write about this, you have to tell the world: Listen, then it was our grandfathers and tomorrow it will be you, unless the whole of Europe defends itself against this, unless the whole of Europe says: Hang on a minute, is Poland free, Minister Kozyrev? Is it entitled to make independent decisions? What business is it of yours?

We do not threaten—we want a free Russia, we are going to—we are prepared to defend a free Russia. But say it the other way. Poland chooses its own partners. For as long as I am president no one is going to choose partners for me. I am going to do it in accordance with the will of the people. Will the Western partner withstand this? Well, here, as you can see, things vary.

During my term of office, I am going to want to bring about greater security in Europe, I am going to want greater prosperity. As I say, I am going to say what I think both to President Clinton and to President Yeltsin. I am not going to wear kid gloves. The truth will always be the truth and Poland's freedom will be Poland's freedom.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, regarding this question from the viewers, why are you overthrowing the government, why are you questioning the legality of the government, how do you intend to resolve your conflict with parliament? A whole series of questions, well, accusing you of badly arranging your relations with parliament and what are your answers...

[Walesa interrupting] Hang on a minute, hang on a minute, why is it that some people are always seeing me as the guilty one. I do not want to overthrow any government. I am just saying that the coalition said one thing and is doing another, that it proposed one program and is proposing another. That is one. I am not overthrowing any government.

Well, I think that the government should rule as long as possible but it should rule in accordance with the will of the people. But (?first)...

[Unidentified correspondent] I would like to pick up here, is that all right?

[Walesa] Hang on a minute, hang on a minute. So far, as you have noticed, between the government there have been no large conflicts. Of course there might have been some squabbles dragged into the daylight by journalists, but so far there has not been any conflict, let us make it clear, there is none from my side.

On the other hand with parliament, well, it arose not through me—there too there hadn't been a conflict, in spite of everything we walked about together without stepping on each other's toes. It was only when they rejected the first reading—and that was arrogance, that was spite—so I am not going to play spite. Ladies and gentlemen: I am, in spite of everything, the president. That is, even if I am merely submitting a draft, they should start discussion. I am not a little boy. In connection with this, it was not I who made this conflict, I would not have made it, I am a very accommodating man. But no one is going to walk all over me. [end recording]

Walesa for Adopting Constitution Before Vote

LD2602003494 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] In President Lech Walesa's view, a constitution still ought to be adopted before the presidential elections next year. In the course of a meeting with journalists at Gdansk Television studios, Walesa stated that he had foreseen the conflicts against the background of the decision of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council on the matter of concessions for radio and television program broadcasting. The president announced that he will support various political forces so as to maintain equilibrium in the country.

[Unidentified correspondent] According to Walesa, the decisions contained in the new constitution ought to be intended to remove possible conflicts that could paralyze the executive power, and also widen the range of the president's prerogatives.

[Walesa] "I would wish that Poland be well steered. I would like—the point is not, is not that I would like to have a lot of power, but an opportunity for quicker decisions, quite simply the undertaking of quicker decisions. Parliament ought to, really, concern itself above all with legal equipping [as heard], and not with ruling, not with the creation of coalitions, that is not the point."

[Correspondent] In Walesa's view, there is no other way out for Poland than a presidential system. The rejection by parliament of the presidential draft laws on the adoption of a Constitution was acknowledged by Walesa to be spitefulness on the part of the Sejm, and arrogance by the post-communists. The president does not acknowledge the withdrawal of his representative from the work of the [Sejm] Constitutional Commission to be the suspension of work on a constitution.

[Walesa] "I just say that the majority remain outside of parliament, and I will look on, and I am ready to, with this majority, to do something with this majority. On the subject of a constitution, I wanted, as the first approach, if the arrogance of parliament had not taken place, then I thought that, that what I propose will cause this majority to join in work on a constitution, together with this parliament. If it had not been rejected, then this draft had to succeed for me."

[Correspondent] Walesa said that he had envisaged that the decisions of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council would bring about a storm on the matter of concessions. In the president's view there does exist the possibility of the entire council's recall.

[Walesa] "If all these things turn out to be true, what was carried today in RZECZPOSPOLITA, and also a number of facts about which I in turn know, as the president, then this cannot end other than as I proposed. It is not true that I do not have any legal moves there. There are some. The law is none too precise. There are a number of moves that I can still make. I will strive, of course I told the lawyers to precisely check this, since I after all do not know the law so precisely. I would not wish that I be led into error. I really do not want to break any law."

[Correspondent] The president expressed himself in favor of an intelligently carried through decommunization and vetting procedure.

Walesa To Send Low-Ranking Official to Talks

LD2702191394 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Text] A low-ranking official from the president's office will be taking part in the work of the parliamentary constitutional commission. This was announced by Lech Walesa today.

[Reporter] My representative, a lower-ranking one, is going to return to the commission for formal reasons, the president said before leaving Gdansk for Warsaw. It had seemed that the constitution should be created at the Sejm, but there is no good atmosphere for the president there, Lech Walesa said. He announced that in using a different political setup and other opportunities he will be preparing his own draft constitution and perhaps in the future, under favorable conditions, it might be possible to combine both.

Asked about reports in some newspapers to the effect that Piotr Kolodziejczyk is considering appointing a deputy national defense minister from among the present government coalition, President Walesa said: This appointment must not be made. Anyone who seriously thinks about the state knows that no divisions must be created.

He offered assistance to the heads of the presidential government departments.

Lech Walesa would not reply unambiguously to the question of whether his press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski would be either resigning or dismissed in the immediate future. Are you feeling tired? he asked Drzycimski, and added: I don't think he looks all that bad yet.

Cooperation Between Walesa, Solidarity Viewed

WS2802123994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by Pawel Reszka: "Solidarity-Walesa; Short Tactical Flirt"]

[Text] "Solidarity" and the president, two political forces that have found themselves in opposition to the governing configuration, are at first glance sentenced to cooperation. However, there is not much hope for a lasting alliance between them. There are too many differences, too much distrust, and too few possible advantages—for one of the two parties at least. The president and his entourage are encouraging the trade union to cooperate; Solidarity may fear that the main beneficiary of the possible alliance would be Walesa.

In the last conflict with the parliament, the president resorted to anticommunist rhetoric. He started seeking allies that he could count on in this dispute, and in the long run—in the presidential elections:

"My dear Solidarity," he said at the last press conference. "I will never cut my links with 'Solidarity,'" he added. Andrzej Drzycimski has been recently persuading Marian Krzaklewski to meet with the president.

A Good Partner

Solidarity is a good, possible partner for Walesa. It is beginning to regain strength and overcome the postelection crisis. It proved this during the 40,000-people demonstration which marched through the streets of Warsaw. The main slogan was "Down with Communists" and it was clear that the politically-diversified "Solidarity people" felt good in the old role, when they could jointly protest the return of the forces of the old configuration to power. The president is protesting against the same today; he even said that the people who protest are right, because "it was not supposed to be this way, but it is worse," even though he encouraged a fight on other platforms.

During the demonstration, Solidarity authorities saw to it that it did not reach the Belvedere; at the lead of the demonstration was the Gdansk Region, with a strong representation of the Gdansk Shipyard, which did not really feel like demonstrating against the president—there are more persons with similar views in the union. In an interview for RZECZPOSPOLITA, Solidarity Senate Speaker Stefan Jurczak did not rule out the possibility that the union may for the second time back up Walesa in the presidential elections.

Not Even A Step Further

Solidarity and the president may soon start cooperation with each other. It seems, however, that this will not be a lasting cooperation. Members of the Solidarity authorities have several reasons why they should not go even a step further than it is necessary in an alliance with the president.

"It is Walesa who wants cooperation with Solidarity. Our question is what will we get out of that," says one member of the National Committee. The president may contribute to this marriage the authority of his office, the right to veto laws, the possibility of holding a referendum (the trade union wants, for example, a referendum on giving property to citizens), and the right to launch a legislative initiative. The problem is that the authority of the president is slightly eroded, which is shown by opinion polls, and the other rights may be difficult to take advantage of in a war with the parliament: The veto

may be overridden, the Senate must approve the referendum, and the fate of the last legislative initiative of the president, which was rejected in the first reading, will discourage Lech Walesa from any new actions in this area. What the partners can do, then, is to take joint action in the opposition. This motivation may turn out to be sufficient only for a short time. All the more so because the relations between the president and Solidarity will become increasingly complex as

The Presidential Elections

draw closer. Walesa will certainly want to lean on the trade union, where he still has numerous supporters. The present Solidarity leadership is rather skeptical about this idea. A similar situation developed last year, when the president wanted to come to the Solidarity congress and persuade the trade union to run in the parliamentary elections jointly with the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms. The union leaders, who were determined to run separately, were indignant at the president and invited him only to the last day of the congress, when all the decisions had already been made. The president was offended because he was not given a chance to give it a try.

"I would not like to be in such a Solidarity, he said at that time. Now Walesa wants to give it a try once again. However, past animosities linger on—all the more so because after the congress conflict the influence of supporters and personal friends of the president within Solidarity considerably waned. We should also not forget about numerous Solidarity members who are firm opponents of Walesa, supporters of file-checking and cooperation with the right wing. Exceedingly close cooperation with Walesa would, then, have to cause greater or lesser quarrels within Solidarity.

Adding to all that are also personal ambitions of Marian Krzaklewski; some of his aides do not rule out the possibility that he is thinking about the presidency. He would be a candidate acceptable to the right wing—he is the chairman of the Constitutional Commission of the extra-parliamentary rightist groupings.

SLD: Agreement on Deputy Minister Reached

WS2802113594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26-27 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by Z.L.: "There Is Agreement Concerning Defense"]

[Text] The future "coalition" deputy minister of national defense will be responsible for contacts with the Sejm. The decision on establishing the post of "the parliamentary undersecretary of state" in the Ministry of National Defense [MON] was made during the talks with the participation of Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk. Jerzy Milewski, National Security Office head and secretary of state in MON, did not take part in the last stage of the negotiations. The first deputy of the national defense minister has been in the hospital for a week now. "The possibility cannot be ruled out that the personnel decisions will be made as early as next Monday [28 February)," Colonel Wieslaw Rozbicki, MON spokesman, informed on 25 February. Jerzy Szmajdzinski, general secretary of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, Sejm deputy of the Democratic Left Alliance, and chairman of the Sejm Defense Committee, confirmed on 25 February that the agreement on the filling of the post of the "political" deputy minister had been reached with the MON leadership. In line with the procedures, the candidate for the deputy minister should be proposed to the prime minister by the minister. "There already exists a list of candidates for the portfolio of the deputy minister," said Szmajdzinski; he firmly denied that his name is on that list. "The Government Press Office is not in the habit of acting before things actually happen. We issue information about recalls and appointments that have actually been made in the government," we heard on 25 February in the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Sejm Speaker on Security, Army Finances

WS2802105794 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0635 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Statement by Polish Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy; place and date not given; from the "Caliber" Military Program—recorded]

[Text] Speaking in terms of strategic perspective, my view is that Poland is not safe, and everyone should become aware of that fact soon, and also implement the necessary measures in order to increase the feeling of safety. Second, there is the issue of financial means for the very urgent needs of the Army, in order to secure the Army's efficiency and effectiveness—there have been debates going on regarding that issue for some time now. The state budget presents an opportunity in that regard. I think that if additional revenues for the state budget emerge this year—there are people hoping that this will happen—then the Army's needs must definitely be taken into account. Third, I also think that there is no social awareness of the deteriorating security in the country and the resultant need to strengthen the Army's role so that the role can be played well in the future.

Foreign Ministry Condemns Hebron Shooting

AU2602164094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] We will now present a statement by the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs which states that it has learned about the abominable tragedy in the sacred establishment in Hebron in the West Bank, where scores of innocent people have become victims of insanity and intolerance, with profound concern.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs most firmly condemns this criminal and irresponsible action just as it has condemned and continues to condemn any act of violence committed by the forces that oppose the easing of tensions in the Middle East.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses the hope that, despite this dramatic incident and other attempts to hamper the peace process, the desire by the sides to solve the conflict in this area by political means will continue with the same determination to capitalize on the favorable preconditions offered by the results of the bilateral Arab-Israeli negotiations in Washington, which have led to a mutual recognition between the PLO and Israel and to the signing of the principled declaration of 13 September 1993.

By virtue of its traditional relations in that area, Romania reiterates its readiness and interest in supporting the process of achieving peace, understanding, and economic cooperation in the Middle East, the statement by the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which has been faxed to us, emphasizes in conclusion.

Mining Unions Announce Strike for 1 Mar

AU2602174094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] The National Federation of Mining Trade Unions of Romania affiliated to the Alfa Cartel has faxed us a communique in which it announces that the trade union leaders from all mining basins, except for the Jiu Valley, who held a meeting in Caciulata from 24-25 February, decided to organize a one-day general strike on 1 March, starting right at the beginning of the first shift.

In this way, the trade unions in the mining and geological industry support the demands made by the Mining Trade Union Federation and the Alfa Cartel, the communique signed by the president of the federation specifies.

The Autonomous Civil and Municipal Construction Trade Union Federation has also informed us in a communique that it will participate in the one-day strike on 28 February, together with the CNSLR [National Confederation of Romania's Free Trade Unions] Fratia Confederation, of which it is a member.

PNTCD Chairman on Coalition Possibilities

AU2502160494 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 23 Feb 94 p 3

[Report by Bogdan Tiberiu Iacob: "Despite the Rumors That Are Being Circulated, Mr. Coposu Remains Firm: 'PNTCD Will Not Join the Government Without CDR'"]

[Text] In a dialogue with our correspondents yesterday, Corneliu Coposu, PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party] chairman, categorically refuted the rumors that are being circulated alleging that certain so-called changes occurred in his political-strategic position. "As far as we are concerned, no changes have occurred," the PNTCD leader said. "We decided to answer favorably to the invitation addressed to us by Oliviu Gherman [chairman of the Social Democracy Party of Romania—PDSR] to engage in a dialogue with the PDSR separately from the rest of the CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania], but we will not join the government without our allies within the CDR, and that could also happen only if Ion Iliescu renounces his monopoly over the country's authorities. We refuse the idea of setting up a national unity government and we will not cooperate with the extremist parties—the PRM [Greater Romania Party], the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor], and the PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party]. As far as the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] is concerned, our relations with them have not cooled down at all; they are the same as before. The UDMR remains our ally, despite our reserve regarding their program and the draft they elaborated for the ethnic minority bill."

Tokes Warns About Treatment of Minority

LD2702144494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Text] A session of the Council of Representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania [HDUR] is continuing in Miercurea Ciuc. Laszlo Tokes, honorary president of the Council, has sent a letter to the representatives. Our special correspondent Peter Marvanyi reports.

[Marvanyi] Only 30 days remain from the six-month period that the Council of Europe gave Romania to fulfill the conditions laid down when Romania was admitted as a Council member. To this day, Romania has not fulfilled one single obligation it undertook, not even those which directly affect the Hungarian minority in Romania, their minority, and human rights. Bishop Laszlo Tokes, HDUR honorary president—who is not present here in Miercurea Ciuc—has warned the Council of Representatives about all this in a letter. The parliament, or more precisely one of its committees, is drafting a resolution linked to this.

By the way, yesterday, after reading out Bishop Tokes's letter, Csaba Takacs, executive chairman of the Council of Representatives, said the HDUR is constantly collecting documents relating to the Council of Europe's conditions and registering the events, or more precisely the actions which the Romanian Government has mostly failed to carry out. The HDUR will submit the material to international forums.

U.S. Fighters Down Four Serbian Planes

LD2802101494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0952 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Rome, 28 February (TANJUG)—It has been confirmed in the American Air Force base in Aviano in northeastern Italy that two American F-16 fighters from this base downed four planes this morning at 0530, 55 miles east of Banja Luka. U.S. fighter planes that returned to the base at around 0600 fired six "air-to-air" missiles at a group of six planes, sources in Aviano said.

The identity of the downed planes has not been officially confirmed yet, but it is presumed that they are Galeb planes belonging to the Serb republic air force.

Downed Aircraft Engaged in Bombing

LD2802102494 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1000 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Excerpt] According to the French Defense Ministry, the Serb aircraft shot down by U.S. F-16's near Banja Luka in northwestern Bosnia this morning were bombing a factory near Vitez near the center. It was a clear case of aggression, which led to an immediate reaction. [passage omitted]

Planes Bombed Novi Travnik Factory

LD2802102194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] This morning at 0645 [0545 GMT] the Bosnian Serb air force launched a missile attack on the Muslim-held Bratstvo factory in Novi Travnik. Two of the three planes which flew in to Novi Travnik and returned via Vlasic and Donji Vakuf fired four missiles. Thick smoke is still rising above the factory, the political department of Herceg-Bosna's Defense Ministry said.

Croatian Army Blamed

AU2802095694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 3d Corps report from Zenica]

[Excerpt] Much more is needed for peace than just signatures on a piece of paper, most of all it requires the goodwill of the commanders of military units on the ground. We do not want to believe that one thing is agreed at the negotiating table while another thing is told the military commanders, those who implement the cease-fire. However, how else can we explain the bombing of the Novi Travnik Bratstvo [Brotherhood] factory from aircraft of the Croatian Army, as happened this morning at 0648 [0548 GMT]? Is there any justification for daily overflights of helicopters of the Croatian Army over the Vitez region, which drop military hardware to the extremist units, as happened yesterday over Jardol and Nova Bila? [passage omitted]

NATO Confirms Aircraft Downed

AU2802085894 Paris AFP in English 0854 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Brussels, Feb 28 (AFP)—Four Serbian Galeb aircraft were shot down by U.S. fighters near the northwestern town of town of Banja Luka early Monday [28 February], a NATO military spokesman confirmed here.

Earlier Admiral Chistos Liberis, the chief of staff of the Greek armed forces, announced in Athens that the four Serbian aircraft were downed 55 miles (90 kilometers) west of Banja Luka between 0430 GMT and 0500 GMT.

The NATO spokesman said the Serbian aircraft had ignored orders to land relayed to them by NATO aircraft enforcing a no-flight ban over Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of operation Deny Flight.

In Athens, Admiral Liberis made the announcement to journalists who were awaiting the end of talks between Defense Minister Gerassimos Arsenis and visiting British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

In Sarajevo, UN sources said a Serbian aircraft was shot down by NATO aircraft over the central town of Zenica early Monday morning. The Serbian plane had taken off from Banja Luka, they added.

A spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said the humanitarian airlift into Sarajevo and all movements to Serb-controlled areas were being suspended.

Planes Took Off From Banja Luka

AU2802162494 Paris AFP in English 1604 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Paris, Feb 28 (AFP)—The six Bosnian Serb planes intercepted Monday by NATO warplanes which shot down four of them had taken off from the northwestern Serb-held airport of Banja Luka, a French military source said.

The six Super Galeb aircraft were in the air a short period when they were spotted by an AWACS radar plane which relayed their location to two US F-16 fighter jets, the source said. He added that the order to shoot down the planes was given by the NATO headquarters in Italy after the Bosnian Serb planes ignored orders to land.

Earlier, the [French] Defense Ministry here said the Galeb aircraft were in the process of bombing a Moslem-operated weapons factory near the central town of Vitez when four of them were shot down.

Speaking in Mostar in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, UN special representative for the former Yugoslavia Yasuchi Akashi said he "understood that (the) two other planes landed in Banja Luka airport."

Akashi added that he had contacted Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and the two had agreed "on the importance of not overdramatising this particular incident."

The Bosnian Serbs have often been accused of using the Banja Luka airport for helicopter flights which were in violation of a UN no-flight ban over Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Although the flights were detected by AWACS radar planes, NATO jets could not intervene as the helicopters were flying low and in moutainous regions.

Banja Luka Official Denies Role

PY2802124894 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1115 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb (EFE)—The Srpska armed forces today stated that the four planes which were downed by U.S. fighters at 0545 GMT today near Banja Luka, the largest Serbian city in Bosnia, were not Serbian.

Neboysa Radmanovic, press chief of Banja Luka, a city 232 km north of Sarajevo, told the journalists that no Serbian military planes took off today.

The press office of the Bosnian (Muslim) Third Army Corps confirmed that Croatian planes today bombed the Brastvo factory in Travnik, central Bosnia, and observers do not rule out the possibility that these were the planes that were later downed.

Most observers seem to agree that the downed planes belonged to the Bosnian Serbs, but they do not rule out the possibility that they may be part of the small number of Croatian planes. Serbian and Croatian pilots have been trained at the same schools and use the same type of planes in the now extinct Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The U.S. fighter planes carried out their operation against the Yugoslav-made Galeb (swallows) training planes, in keeping with Resolution 816 of the UN Security Council dated 1 March 1993.

This resolution, which received 14 votes in favor while only the PRC abstained, allows the Security Council to begin the so-called "Closed Sky" operation against Bosnian-Serb planes.

Since the Croats and the Muslims virtually have no planes, the some 45 Serb planes and helicopters which usually use the Banja Luka airport in northern Sarajevo, own the sky.

The United Nations has thus authorized NATO to continuously overfly Bosnian territory with permission from President Alia Izetbegovic, the only person the United Nations recognizes as a representative of divided Bosnia.

Serbs 'Being Blamed in Advance'

LD2802182094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1748 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—Hours have elapsed since the downing of four aircraft over the Banja Luka region in Bosnia-Herzegovina on Monday morning, but it has not been established yet whose the aircraft were.

NATO has so far given only the basic elements about the operation carried out on Monday morning by U.S. Phantoms. The official NATO statement said that the operation took place at around 07:00 hours local time, and that two F-16s fighters shot down four aircraft near Banja Luka.

No other facts are known for the time being. It is not known precisely which type of planes were downed, to whom they had belonged, and from where they had taken off.

World media have neverthless been alleging since early morning that the planes belonged to the Bosnian Serb republic (R.S.), that they were Galebs, and had violated the U.N.-imposed no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Two categorical denials have so far come from the R.S. that the downed planes were not Bosnian Serb. The denials have not, however, stopped foreign media from alleging that they belonged to the Serb Republic.

TANJUG was told in Bosnian Serb army (VRS) circles that the VRS had only one airfield, near Banja Luka, and that U.N. military observers had been stationed there for quite some time. The same sources underscored that U.N. military observers would have no doubt seen if any VRS planes had taken off from the airfield on Monday morning.

The VRS sources denied that any VRS aircraft had been downed, which they said could be confirmed by U.N. military observers.

Moslem-controlled Radio Sarajevo early on Monday morning said that Croat forces bombed the towns of Vitez and Novi Travnik, and that afterwards, at 06:15 hours local time to be exact, Serb planes raided the town of Bugojno.

The same source said that Croat planes attacked the ammunition factory in Novi Travnik at 5:58 GMT, i.e. ten minutes after the downing of the allegedly Serb planes. Unidentified French military sources, which have been quoted by some foreign news agencies, have created additional confusion by alleging that the ammunition factory was bombed by Serb plames.

Naturally, it is hard to believe that the missing elements concerning the four downed planes will not be filled in. However, things are repeating themselves. The Bosnian Serbs are again being blamed in advance, before the necessary facts have been established. The same was true in the case of the massacres in Sarajevo's Vase Miskina Street and again recently at Sarajevo's Markale open air market.

The downing of the four planes on Monday morning was NATO's first combat operation since the military alliance was founded in 1949. Although the two U.N. Security Council resolutions relating to the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina are invoked to justify the operation, it is a clear indication that NATO was not at all

happy at not having had the opportunity militarily to act after the expiry of the NATO ultimatum set to the Bosnian Serbs. It has been conceded even in western political circles that the thwarting of NATO air strikes was Russia's diplomatic victory.

The question which presents itself in that context is whether the Monday morning operation was an attempt to get even with Russia.

Official Denies Flight Ban Violated

AU2802102794 Paris AFP in English 1019 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Brussels, Feb 28 (AFP)—U.S. F-16 fighters shot down four Serbian aircraft early Monday near the northwestern Bosnian town of Banja Luka for violating a NATO no-flight ban over Bosnia-Herzegovina, NATO said here.

The French Defense Ministry said a total of six Serbian Galeb jets were in the process of shelling a weapons factory near the central Bosnian town of Vitez when NATO warplanes intervened and downed four of the aircraft.

A NATO spokesman here said the six Serbian aircraft had ignored orders to land and four of them were shot down at 0548 GMT by the two U.S. F-16 Flying Falcons which fired six missiles and then safely returned to their base in Aviano, Italy.

"The NATO pilots issued, in accordance with their rules of engagement, two 'land or be engaged' orders to the aircraft, which ignored them," a NATO communique issued in Italy said. "The NATO Flying Falcons engaged the planes, shooting down four of them." [passage omitted]

In Sarajevo, UN sources said one of the Galeb aircraft was shot down over the central town of Zenica after taking off from Banja Luka.

A Serb military official in Banja Luka said, "we cannot either confirm or deny for the time being" that any Serb jets had been shot down, and he asserted that Serb planes had abided by operation Deny Flight.

NATO aircraft have been flying daily sorties over Bosnia since April 1993 to enforce UN resolution 816 banning all unauthorized flights over the war-torn former Yugoslav republic. The UN ban has however been repeatedly been violated by Serb aircraft. The NATO spokesman said Resolution 816 authorized "all necessary measures" to ensure respect of the no-flight ban.

In Athens, Liberis told journalists that he regretted the shooting down of the Serb planes and said the incident "justifies our decision not to be involved in any military operations in Bosnia." He recalled that Greek crews had been pulled out of allied AWACS radar planes after Athens dissociated itself from a NATO ultimatum threatening air strikes against all heavy weapons not withdrawn from around Sarajevo or placed under UN control by February 21.

Pressured by this ultimatum, Bosnian Serb forces besieging Sarajevo and mainly Moslem Bosnian army declared a ceasefire on February 9, the same day the NATO deadline was issued.

A spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said in Sarajevo that the humanitarian airlift into the Bosnian capital and all movements to Serb-controlled areas were being suspended in the wake of the downing of the four Serbian aircraft.

Ganic Praises Downing

AU2802170294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Interview with Presidency member Ejup Ganic by Ratka Tenjovic in Sarajevo on 28 February—recorded]

[Text] [Tenjovic] Professor Ganic, how did the Presidency assess this morning's downing of four enemy planes?

[Ganic] This has restored credibility to the United Nations. To put it briefly, this [word indistinct] is beginning to act more efficiently. This is not only good news for our state but also for other, even smaller states in the world, which have always seen the United Nations as a savior and have expected the organization's collective protection. Of course, this is a positive operation and proof that the United Nations—once it decides to do something—has the technology to implement (?its decisions).

[Tenjovic] One of the two UN resolutions was implemented this morning. It was said yesterday that from now on, UN convoys would be setting out without previous notice and would be travelling with an armed escort throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Can we expect that in the future, the United Nations will have a more active attitude toward its own documents on Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ganic] Yes, we can because the UN's credibility and historical responsibility was extremely threatened. Moreover, the carnage is immense and, therefore, the [UN] course has changed. The Serbian regime in Bosnia is actually using weapons that are killing civilians—women and children—destroying private houses, yet it does not possess a technology that could be a challenge to NATO planes or other NATO equipment. Therefore, the only real, effective force on Bosnia-Herzegovina territory—in terms of intervention from the air and on the ground—is the UN force, since we are observing the cease-fire. I expect that the Serbian regime, following an old recipe, will try to proclaim this to be another of its victories, and perhaps (?more significant breakthroughs) will occur. Perhaps these planes will be shot down not only over Banja Luka but also in places where they are maintained and where they prepare for their sorties.

[Tenjovic] The message for the aggressor is clear. There can be no more joking with the United Nations. What would be the message for the Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens?

[Ganic] Better times are coming—Tuzla airport will soon be opened and convoys will come more often to (?encircled) territories. We cannot relax, however, because the aggressor will try [changes thought], you know that crimes against the civilian population are (?still going on) in all areas, the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Army must be alert, it must defend its positions at all times, it must do everything to help things function on the ground, iron out problems between communes, in traffic.... However, we must also fight back with our efficiency in the sense [words indistinct] of the United Nations. Therefore, the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its borders are again on the international (?map), and the world realizes that partitioning a state, handing over a state to the aggressor whose objective is expansionism, simply leads to instability not only in these regions but to chaos in international diplomacy. Owing primarily to our Army's [word indistinct] on the ground, and partly owing to our political activity, we have succeeded in channeling many things. [sentence as heard] Things will now be somewhat easier, but you must know that we cannot afford to relax, [words indistinct].

Eyewitnesses Confirm Attack

AU2802113794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Report by Ahmed Begicevic from Novi Travnik]

[Text] Early this morning the citizens of Novi Travnik and Travnik were awoken by a series of powerful explosions. According to the information that we have received from the Operative Group Bosanska Krajina, this morning at 0645 [0545 GMT] a group of six Galeb fighter planes bearing the insignia of the former Yugoslav People's Army entered the air space of our country despite the UN no-fly resolution. Four planes bombed the Bratstvo Factory in Novi Travnik, causing considerable material damage.

Just after this air raid NATO planes appeared in the sky, and the attackers dispersed and tried to escape in various directions. Early morning eye-witnesses in Travnik have confirmed that an armed clash took place in the sky, and the attackers were attacked by missiles from the NATO planes, which were much faster. According to unofficial information [words indistinct] two U.S. F-16 fighters.

TANJUG Cites NATO Statement

LD2802105894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0945 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Brussels, 28 February (TANJUG)—Four Galeb-type aircraft were shot down about 50 km west of Banja Luka, an official NATO representative confirmed today in Brussels. The aircraft that were shot down, according to him, refused prior to this to heed a warning and make a forced landing.

The official NATO representative stated that U.S. F-16 fighter aircraft participated as part of NATO forces in the shooting down of the planes. He also said the U.S. planes flew from one of the bases in Italy.

The official NATO representative said first that the planes that were shot down either belonged to the "Bosnian Serbs" or to Serbia. He later corrected himself, saying that they flew from territory controlled by Bosnian Serbs.

He also recalled that the NATO planes were authorized to take action on the basis of the Security Council resolution banning flights over Bosnia. This ban, according to him, was infringed by a total of six Galeb-type planes, but two planes from this group succeeded in avoiding being shot down.

The same representative failed to reply to a question as to whether this was an isolated incident or an action with more serious consequences. He also refused to comment in any other way on this incident, of which he said only that it took place early this morning.

Serbs Bomb Residential Areas in Bugojno

AU2802093994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Report by Atif Agic from Bugojno]

[Text] This morning at 0650 [0550 GMT] the chetnik air force again bombed residential areas in Bugojno. The air raid was carried out in three sweeps, causing great material damage. After dropping their load, the chetnik bombers flew off in the direction of Donji Vakuf.

Since 1745 last night the chetnik artillery has been pounding the residential areas of Bugojno, and this was repeated early this morning during the chetnik air raid.

All the defense lines of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army fighters from Operative Group West are firm and alert.

As for the Gornji Vakuf front, the cease-fire is largely holding, at least as far as the artillery is concerned. Snipers are still active, and something should be done about these criminals, as that is in the interest of both sides.

UN Reports Serbs Shelling Tuzla Airport

AU2802134794 Paris AFP in English 1311 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Feb 28 (AFP)—A total of 16 artillery shells landed in and around the airport in Tuzla in northern Bosnia on Monday [28 February] morning, a UN spokesman said here.

UN Dutch Major Rob Annink said one shell hit an empty building and another fell on the runway.

He said the shelling came after U.S. jets in central Bosnia shot down at 0548 GMT four Serb warplanes who were defying the NATO no-flight zone over the former Yugoslav republic. He did not specify the time of the shelling in Tuzla.

Annink said he could not say if there was a link between the two incidents or if the shelling of Tuzla was by Serb forces.

Tuzla airport is, however, surrounded by Serb forces who have said they oppose a UN plan to open the airport in March to receive humanitarian aid flights.

A French UN officer separately told AFP that a mortar shell fell on Sunday near Sarajevo airport, which is held by UN troops.

He said the shell fell at 10:00 p.m. (2100 GMT) Sunday, 500 metres (yards) north of the airport, in what would be a clear violation of the NATO ban on heavy weapons in the Sarajevo area. [passage omitted]

The officer, who asked not to be named, said he could not identify where the mortar shell came from.

He said three Serb tanks were seen from the airport moving northwest at about midnight (2300 GMT Sunday), in what would be another violation of the NATO ban.

Serbs To Prevent Opening of Tuzla Airport

AU2702161594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Report by Vladimir Mitric]

[Text] The cease-fire agreement continues to be more or less observed on the Sarajevo battlefield, with the exception of sporadic Muslim sniper provocations. The army of the Srpska republic and UN Protection Forces are contributing toward the establishment of peace in this part of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, high military circles of the Srpska republic emphasize. Thanks to Blue Helmet interventions, the Muslims have somewhat reduced their engineering works in Sarajevo.

As Serbian military circles emphasize, the 2d Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army offered cooperation to the 111th Brigade of the Croatian Defense Council Tuzla, which has been increasingly escaping the control of Alija's [Izetbegovic] army. The same sources claim that Muslim-Croat clashes continue in central Bosnia and in Herzegovina. The second successive attempt to form a Croatian-Muslim alliance is only producing results in the Sava Basin. Concurrent with the activities of the regular Croatian Army from the region of (Rajevo Selo) in the Serbian Sava Basin, which directly threaten the corridor, the Muslims have been pounding Brcko and its surroundings with artillery.

Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Peoples' Assembly of the Srpska republic, commented on the efforts to open Dubrave airport near Tuzla at all costs as follows:

[Begin Krajisnik recording] We have never been opposed to the opening of airports and delivery of humanitarian aid. We would not be opposed to the opening of Tuzla airport either. Of course, we would demand the opening of Banja Luka and other airports as well as various other venues of communication, and therefore, unhindered traffic. However, we suspect, that is to say, we have fairly reliable information on plans to abuse Tuzla airport in the same way Sarajevo airport has been abused, by using the lines and routes for humanitarian aid distribution to arm the Muslims. This is also the objective for Tuzla airport. If we can protect our people from the plan that some Western forces have concocted and prevent the armament of the Muslims, we will have nothing against the opening of Tuzla airport. If the superpowers nevertheless wish to open Tuzla airport we will insist on certain preconditions to eliminate this danger. They can definitely open Tuzla airport by force, which would be nothing unusual at this moment, as neither law nor justice are being observed. However, the Serbs will oppose by all means, the opening of Tuzla airport without our side's consent. [end recording]

Serb Tank Moves Violate NATO Ultimatum

AU2802111394 Paris AFP in English 1057 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 28 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces have driven some six tanks out of the exclusion zone around Sarajevo in violation of the NATO ban on heavy weapons, a UN spokesman said here Monday [28 February].

"Several tanks were withdrawn out of the northern part of the (NATO-declared) 20 kilometres (12-mile) exclusion zone," UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Canadian Lieutenant-Colonel Bill Aikman told reporters.

He said the tanks were spotted moving at about the 10 kilometres (six-mile) portion of the zone by UN military observers.

The observers "did not have the capability to stop the tanks," Aikman said.

But he said the movement of the 6 or 7 tanks was a clear violation of the NATO ultimatum that expired a week ago for all heavy artillery to be withdrawn from Sarajevo, where Serbs besiege a mainly Moslem population.

As of the expiration date, all heavy guns, including tanks, were to be withdrawn or placed under UNPROFOR control. If not, NATO warplanes were to strike the weapons.

Aikman said the Serb tanks "appear to have been hidden somewhere and then moved out."

They went through a point north of Vogosca, in hills north of Sarajevo.

Aikman said UNPROFOR would be "increasing patrols in the area to determine if there are any more" heavy weapons there.

UNPROFOR has admitted the Serbs have not handed over all their weapons and the Bosnian Government charges that the Serbs have kept up to 70 percent of the weapons they had targeted on Sarajevo in the exclusion zone.

Serbs Threaten Force if Sarajevo Bridge Opens

LD2802104094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0942 GMT 28 Feb 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zvornik, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Chief of Staff General Manojlo Milovanovic says that the Serb side resents the unilateral and rash decisions of the U.N. peacekeepers' commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Michael Rose, to change the regimen of the movement of humanitarian convoys and reopen a bridge in Sarajevo.

Commenting on Gen. Rose's decision that humanitarian convoys as of Monday move through that war-shattered former Yugoslav republic with armed escort and without the prior consent of the warring parties, Gen. Milovanovic said that nothing had changed as far as the Serbs are concerned and that aid and other convoys would in the future continue to need Serb consent to pass through Bosnian Serb territory. "Otherwise, we shall prevent their movement, at arms if necessary," Milovanovic told TANJUG late on Sunday.

Bosnian Serbs will not permit humanitarian convoys to move through their territory without their permission and control, because the Bosnian Serb army had on several occasions found the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to be smuggling arms and ammunition for the Moslems.

Milovanovic said also that, if necessary, the Serb side would use force to prevent the reopening of Sarajevo's bridge, announced for noon on Monday. He explained that the bridge could be reopened only in consultations between the Serbs and Moslems with the mediation of U.N. special envoy to former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi.

Milovanovic said that all convoys, especially aid convoys, had always been safe only in Serb territory.

By contrast, those travelling through Moslem and Croat territories have frequently been attacked, with dozens of relief aid workers killed and wounded.

Incidents of this kind have never been recorded in Serb territory.

However, the announced change in the regimen of the movement of humanitarian convoys puts an equation mark between the Serbs and the other two warring nations.

The attitude of the Moslem and Croat sides to humanitarian convoys is evident from countless incidents, such as the downing of an Italian transporter over Jablanica, the murder of a Danish driver at Travnik, the murder of a British aid worker and the wounding of two others at Zenica, etc.

More recently, an UNPROFOR inquiry has showed that Moslem forces wounded five Swedish peacekeepers near Kakanj on Tuesday, an incident that was originally blamed on the Serbs, in the absence of all proof, with the former UNPROFOR Chief of Staff in Bosnia-Herzegovina General Angus Ramsay going so far as to call for NATO air strikes against the Serbs.

A day later, British U.N. troops said they had bombed out two Croat bunkers at Gornji Vakuf, which had been used to attack two U.N. aid convoys.

Rose Cancels Opening of Bridge

AU2802121294 Paris AFP in English 1154 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 28 (AFP)—UN soldiers cancelled the opening set for Monday [28 February] of a bridge linking the Serb and Moslem sides of divided Sarajevo, UN General Michael Rose told reporters.

The commander of UN forces in Bosnia said he had "an agreement in principle not in writing" with Bosnian Serb authorities and that he felt he needed a written agreement concerning the terms for opening the bridge.

'All-Out Attack' by Serbs in Central Bosnia

LD2702114894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Text] The situation in the free territories of Tesanj, Maglaj, Doboj, and Teslic is extremely serious. In fact, it is dramatic. Decisive battles are being waged. The enemy is pounding civilians and residential areas with unprecedented savagery. The 133-km long defense line of the Seven South Operative Group is in flames. The Serb aggressor has engaged almost 50 percent of their military might in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including heavy artillery withdrawn from the Sarajevo battlefield. This all-out attack, which the army of occupation calls Borders '94, is coordinated personally by war criminals generals Mladic and Talic. The aim is to establish the southern border of the phantom Serb state in the area of the Vranduk tunnel. The free territories of Tesanj, Maglaj, Doboj, and Teslic are—believe it or not—being hit by more than 200 heavy shells every hour. These barbaric attacks aiming at systematic destruction of civilians and their homes have outdone everything seen so far on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

As I am reporting, tank and howitzer shells are raining down onto the town of Tesanj, as was the case throughout last night. However, the situation is the most serious in Maglaj where most civilians are dying. Specifically, the army of occupation is doing its best to capture Maglaj and drive out its remaining surviving residents. We are reminding the international community once again, for the umpteenth time, that Maglaj and Tesanj have been encircled by the aggressor and completely sealed off for nine months. This is the only area in Bosnia-Herzegovina where the aggressor is stopping all convoys with food and other goods for civilians.

However, our soldiers have not given in. In hand to hand fighting, the joint units of the Seven South Operative Group and the 2d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have halted the aggressor, and everyone is determined to die rather than allow the army of occupation to enter Tesanj and Maglaj. All defense lines are unchanged, and the aggressor is suffering heavy, truly heavy, losses in manpower. Our soldiers keep on fighting. Hajrudin Rezovic reported from the information center of the Seven South Operative Group.

Maglaj Radio Operators Report 'Final Hell'

AU2602183894 Paris AFP in English 1816 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Feb 26 (AFP)—Residents of the besieged Moslem-held town of Maglaj pleaded Saturday for UN forces to protect the 35,000 civilians there, in reports received from ham radio operators inside the town.

The operators, speaking on Radio Sarajevo, said "defense lines are burning. It's the the final hell." They said two ground-to-ground missiles had hit Maglaj Saturday. Serbs and Croats are attacking the northern Bosnia town.

The appeals of the isolated Moslem pocket against an offensive by better-armed Serbs recalled those of ham radio operators last year from the eastern pockets of Gorazde and Srebrenica. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, 10 mortar rounds hit the southern city of Mostar Saturday but UN officials said the Moslem-Croat ceasefire was generally holding. Ham radio operators speaking on Radio Sarajevo said Croats were also firing anti-aircraft weapons. The operators said UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi would be visiting Mostar over the next few days.

Akashi's office in Sarajevo said the UN envoy was planning to visit the war-ravaged southern city of Mostar on Monday, but that the trip had not received final confirmation. [passage omitted]

The radio Saturday reported tank and mortar fire on the northern and southern parts of the city.

UN humanitarian aid to Maglaj has been restricted by the fighting. UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Kris Janowski said this week that Maglaj was "the most desperate place in Bosnia food-wise and in every other way." [passage omitted]

The ham radio operators said Serb helicopters were flying over the town in defiance of the NATO-enforced no-fly zone over Bosnia. They said no NATO planes were in the skies.

A UN spokesman meanwhile reported heavy shelling Monday in the northern Bosnian town of Maglaj, in the first western confirmation of intense fighting there.

UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Canadian Lieutenant-Colonel Bill Aikman said he could not provide more details since the closest UN observers were three kilometres (two miles) from the town. [passage omitted]

UN Aid Convoys To Proceed Without Permission

AU2702205894 Paris AFP in English 2045 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 27 (AFP)—UN humanitarian convoys will move through central Bosnia as of Monday [28 February] without detours, without negotiating passage in advance and routinely with armored escort, a UN spokesman said here Sunday.

UN Bosnian commander General Michael Rose's approach is "to give notice and then run convoys," UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Kris Janowski said.

He said convoys in the past had negotiated their passage with the warring parties who often blocked humanitarian aid at their checkpoints. The convoys did not always have armored escorts. But now the convoys would have an armored UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) escort which would give notice of their passage but not negotiate in advance about whether they could move through certain territory.

Janowski said this did not mean the UNPROFOR would force its way although UNPROFOR policy is to return fire if fired upon.

Convoys have also been blocked, however, by civilian demonstrations, often by women. Janowski stressed that the armored escort would not be forcing its way through such demonstrations.

He said that on Monday a Danish convoy would be traveling from Metkovic, in Croatia on the Adriatic Coast, to Sarajevo directly through Mostar instead of detouring through Gornji Vakuf.

The 300,000 residents of Sarajevo are cut of by a Serb siege and completely dependent on humanitarian aid to survive. The same is true for Moslems in Tuzla and other cities. The detour has been necessary due to Moslem-Croat fighting over the past 10 months, in Mostar in the south but also in the approach through central Bosnia to Sarajevo. Moslems and Croats began a ceasefire Friday that appeared to be holding despite some violations.

Janowski said a convoy would be leaving Zenica in central Bosnia on Wednesday for Maglaj in the north. Maglaj has not received a convoy since October as the Moslems there are under attack from Serb and Croat forces. People there are said to be on the verge of starvation.

"This will be a test of the ceasefire to allow the free passage of convoys," Janowski said about getting through to Maglaj.

Serb General Responds

AU2802081094 Paris AFP in English 0721 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Feb 28 (AFP) - Bosnian Serb General Manojlo Milovanovic has threatened to halt by force any UN aid convoys sent through Serb territory without negotiation, the TANJUG news agency reported Sunday. [passage omitted]

He also threatened to use force to stop the Bratstvo-Jedintsvo bridge between Serb and Moslem lines in central Sarajevo being reopened as planned at 1100 GMT on Monday.

UN Bosnian commander General Michael Rose's approach is "to give notice and then run convoys," UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Kris Janowski said in Sarajevo on Sunday.

He said convoys in the past had negotiated their passage with the warring parties who often blocked humanitarian aid at their checkpoints. The convoys did not always have armored escorts.

But now the convoys would have an armored UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) escort which would give notice of their passage but not negotiate in advance about whether they could move through certain territory. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Pleads for UN Help in Maglaj

LD2602091294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic sent a letter yesterday [25 February] to the UN Security Council. The letter says:

A ferocious offensive on Maglaj has been going on for days now. The situation is deteriorating by the hour due to the employment of the heavy artillery the Serb aggressor withdrew from around Sarajevo. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has done and is doing everything it possibly can to rescue the town and its residents. Our defenses are flagging due to the enemy's technical superiority. Thousands of civilians—mostly women and children—are facing a fresh massacre. We are demanding urgent action on the part of the United Nations to forestall genocide, President Izetbegovic's letter says.

Protests Serb Military Superiority

LD2502195294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Dear viewers, we have just received a letter sent by President Alija Izetbegovic to German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Dear Mr. Chancellor, I would like to thank you for your letter and for the efforts you are investing to help Bosnia-Herzegovina and our people. I am particularly grateful for the support Germany has lent us in the crucial moments before the withdrawal of the Serbian artillery from the hills surrounding Sarajevo. The residents of Sarajevo have lived to see the end of the two-year nightmare, during which one of every four citizens has been killed or wounded.

However, the city is still under blockade, and Serbian artillery withdrawn from around Sarajevo has obviously been redeployed on other battlefields, which has disturbed the balance of power on those battlefields. Maglaj and Bihac have come under heavy attacks, which could result in thousands of fresh victims and further ethnic cleansing.

I believe that the final elimination of Serbian artillery is a condition for any serious political negotiations. The current military imbalance to the advantage of the Serbian side has turned the peace negotiations into a diktat.

Our hopes for a speedy denouement to the Bosnian crisis are linked to resolving our misunderstandings with the Croatians. We signed a cease-fire agreement which is to come into effect on 25 February. I hope that this time the Croatians will honor the agreement and withdraw their forces which, according to the UN secretary general's report, consist of at least 5,000 soldiers of the Army of the Republic of Croatia. The involvement on the part of Germany and the United States would probably help Bosnia and Croatia find a solution to this situation, and to re-establish cooperation in many areas.

Yours sincerely,

Alija Izetbegovic

Objects To New Russian Troops

LD2702185294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Text] Following the announcement of the arrival in Bosnia-Herzegovina of a new contingent of Russian troops, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina, today sent a letter to Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy. The letter reads:

Esteemed Mr. Akashi, the behavior of Russian soldiers on their arrival in Sarajevo caused dissatisfaction among the citizens, and—I believe—damaged the reputation of the UN mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On their arrival they demonstrated support for the aggressor and behaved in a way which reminded us of some earlier ugly periods. Our people took all this as a provocation which could have turned into an incident.

Bearing this in mind, it is my duty to inform you that we do not agree to the arrival of more Russian troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We believe that decisions to this effect should be postponed. We ask you to inform the competent UN officials about our position on this issue, Alija Izetbegovic says in his letter.

Consoles 'Arafat on Hebron Massacre

LD2602205494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, has sent a letter to Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat in connection with the massacre of Palestinians in the town of Hebron.

The letter reads: I am shocked by the news of the horrific massacre of Palestinians in Hebron. The seriousness of the incident is aggravated by the fact that it took place during the holy month of Ramadan, in God's shrine, during the holy act of morning prayer. The latest crime in Hebron, like the recent massacre at the market in Sarajevo, is the kind of crime that leaves one speechless. We consider the innocent victims at the mosque in Hebron to be our own. We pray God to bestow everlasting blessings upon the dead and give patience to their families, the letter says.

Srpska General on Cease-Fire, UNPROFOR

LD2602214194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1931 GMT 26 Feb 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Novi Sad, Feb 26 (TANJUG)—Commander of the Bosnian Serb Army General Staff, Gen. Ratko Mladic, has said one should not worry over the Serb defence positions around Sarajevo after the withdrawal of heavy weapons, because the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was really making an effort to maintain ceasefire.

If, however, the Moslems launch an offensive (in the Sarajevo area) the (Bosnian) Serbs will fiercely respond with all available means, Gen. Mladic warned in an interview to the Novi Sad daily DNEVNIK on Saturday.

I would not recommend to Moslems to take up arms. It is better (for them) to try to achieve their goals peacefully—through negotiations, in which they can achieve much, because they can lose everything by opting for war, he said.

In connection with the insistence by some western countries, especially france to threaten the Bosnian Serbs with air strikes unless they allow the opening of the airfield in Tuzla, Gen. Mladic said he was confident that the airfield in that Moslem enclave would be least used for humanitarian aid supply.

We have reliable information that weapons and ammunition, as well as Mujaheddin from Islamic countries would be brought in by planes, he said.

Stressing that the Serb side will discuss with UNPROFOR the possibilities for the opening of the airfield, and that it is ready to negotiate this directly with the Moslems, Gen. Mladic warned that it should, nevertheless, be clear to everybody that Bosnian Serbs would not allow the case of the Sarajevo airport to be repeated.

"We held the Sarajevo airport, and then turned it over to UNPROFOR, and the Moslems dug a tunnel under the airport and use it unhindered (for military purposes), despite our warnings to the peace-keeping command and U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali," said Gen. Mladic.

In connection with the talks on forming a common Bosnian Moslem- Croat state, Gen. Mladic said it was possible that a Moslem-Croat coalition backed primarily by Croatia, as well as many other countries, again take up arms and come against the Serbs.

As long as the international factors do not want peace in Bosnia- Herzegovina, there will be no peace, Gen. Mladic concluded.

Ganic on Possible Muslim-Croat Accord

AU2702143894 Paris AFP in English 0935 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Feb 27 (AFP)—A confederation between Bosnian Croats and Moslems could help resolve internal problems for both sides and give them a chance to concentrate on a common enemy—the Serbs, officials here said.

Such an accord would give the mainly Moslem Bosnian government "the chance to finally deal with only one enemy, the Serbs," Vice President Ejup Ganic told reporters.

Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic was in Washington Sunday for the second day of talks with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic on the creation of a Moslem-Croat federation in Croatia's war-torn neighbor, Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Ganic said Croatia, however, had yet to win the withdrawal of Serb troops from both Bosnia and Serbia, which have occupied a third of its country since the war there ended shortly before the Bosnian conflict began.

Pushing the Bosnian Croats to reach an agreement with the Moslems would give Croatia "a chance to deal with the Krajina (Serb-occupied Croatia) without any distractions," Ganic said. [passage omitted]

Ganic said: "When the Croats and Moslems have a federal state with part occupied by the Serbs, then we can deal with that. But the federal state comes first.

"Then as one country we will deal with the Serbs, one on one."

He said that since there had been greater U.S. involvement in Bosnia on the Moslems side, the Serbs had turned to Moscow. The Serbs, Ganic said, "are reveling in everything Russian. They can have the Russians." [passage omitted]

Koljevic Discusses Political Integration

AU2602160694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Feb 94

["Excerpt" from an interview with Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Srpska republic, by an unidentified correspondent on 26 February; from the "Sa Lica Mesta" program—recorded]

[Text] [Koljevic] In short, we believe that the Russian initiative is very good, that superpowers and big nations should participate, and that their authority—political and any other—will grow further. Therefore, in principle the Russian plan involves greater authority and thus also a quicker solution. We shall see who is pleased with this initiative and who is not. For the time being the replies from the West have been a bit reserved and ambiguous. However, we support such an initiative in any case. Regarding the U.S. plan, if we demand self-determination for ourselves and know that the Serbian side would not agree to any sort of political dependence or subordination to other sides, we have no democratic right, and we must allow the negotiations between the Muslims and the Croats, especially in the political sphere, as long as they are not to our detriment. These talks have to do with an internal matter, a question of their domestic relations, so to speak; naturally, this is all

based on the fundamental assumption that this will not be a military alliance, as it was at the beginning of the war, but a political integration that suits them.

[Unidentified correspondent] Given the circumstances, how should one understand the position of the Serbs and define the Serbian interest?

[Koljevic] Well, I believe that this was already defined a few days ago—in THE WASHINGTON POST yesterday or the day before —namely, that the Serbs will be absolutely free to choose their form of constitution, that they will be able to set themselves up independently in the Srpska republic or unify with Serbia, which is actually the wish of the people and in our natural historic interest. This is already being mentioned publicly as a viable option in the United States if this thing between the Muslims and the Croats proves to be viable.

General Rose on Air Strikes, Peace Plan

BR2802144294 Paris LE FIGARO in French 28 Feb 94 p 5

[Interview with General Rose, British commander of the UN Blue Helmets in Bosnia, by Renaud Girard in Sarajevo; date not given: "New Tensions on all Fronts in Bosnia-Herzegovina—General Rose: 'No NATO Bomb Will Be Dropped Without My Order'"]

[Text] *Born in 1940 in Quetta, in the region of British India which was to become Pakistan, General Michael Rose is considered as one to Her Majesty's most brilliant soldiers. A paratrooper, he is also an Oxford graduate. In 1982, during the Falkland war, he was in command of the 22d SAS Regiment (Special Air Service, the British Army's elite commando corps). After becoming army chief of staff, Lieutenant-General Rose took command on 5 January of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] in Bosnia-Herzegovina.*

New Air Strike Doctrine

In an interview with LE FIGARO, he explains the new doctrine on the use of air power as part of a UN peacekeeping operation. Indeed, this is the first time UN ground soldiers on a peacekeeping mission are given air support—here from NATO aircraft.

[Girard] Before the weekend there still were a few Serbian gun batteries—for instance at Osijek—which were not under UNPROFOR control, despite NATO's ultimatum. How do you explain this? What are you going to do about it?

[Rose] The UNPROFOR has not yet succeeded in getting all heavy weapons on all sites under control. First of all because of the weather. Collecting all weapons was very difficult. Second, the Serbs did not manage to carry out such a task as efficiently as they thought they would: Their army is rather poorly structured, it is only a loose collection of militias. Third, they consider they never agreed to disarm, only to place their weapons under UN control. There has been some confusion at lower echelons.

[Girard] And yet NATO's ultimatum was very clear...

[Rose] Indeed, and we could have taken a much tougher stand. We chose to be understanding to avoid negative repercussions on our action as a whole. The goodwill of the Bosnian Serbs is real, as we can see from our daily meetings with (their "President") Radovan Karadzic. Serbian officials say: "We are having difficulties, but we want to disarm and we are doing it. Stop hassling us!" Basically, Serbian militia men are totally confused, and this is the reason why we do not push as hard as we could. However, I can certify that they cannot resume artillery fire without first having to fight us. We removed essential parts from their weapons, which means that, technically, these guns are under our control, even if their being scattered all over the place is an inconvenience. And the situation is getting better every day.

[Girard] The Bosnian presidency stated that at least five Serbian batteries remained out of UN control...

[Rose] We act every time reconnaissance aircraft identify new heavy weapons. Often, the Serbs will have forgotten they had placed guns here or there. These are abandoned guns which they had not used in a long time. Nevertheless, I will not let myself be diverted from my main goal: the peace process. This is more than a mere cease-fire. We want to turn Sarajevo into a European city again, an open city with a normal life. LE FIGARO mentioned the risk of the siege becoming institutionalized, as in Nicosia. I repeat, we do not want that. We have already achieved a lot.

'Totally in Phase With NATO'

[Girard] There are still incidents, light weapon fire. Are you not afraid of the Serbs slowly chipping away at the cease-fire?

[Rose] This is a real danger. The Serbs charged the Bosnians with trying to advance their front-line positions at four different places. If this is true, it is unacceptable. I am going to visit those places: If trenches have indeed been moved, I will demand that the Bosnian Army return to the positions it held when the cease-fire took effect.

[Girard] Everyone could see over the last three weeks that there was a substantial discrepancy between NATO's discourse, which has been rather "hawkish," and that of the United Nations, more on the "dovey" side. How do you overcome the contradiction?

[Rose] I can only comment from a tactical viewpoint, my own. (...) But I can tell you that since 9 February, the day when I laid the foundation of a peace agreement with the Serbs and the Muslims, I have been totally in phase with NATO. You may have noted that some terms of the Brussels' communique (NATO's ultimatum issued on the night of 9 February) seem to have been directly taken from the agreement signed by the Serbs and the Bosnians. The ultimatum reinforced our peace plan.

[Girard] Were you absolutely certain that NATO Southern Area Commander Admiral Boorda would only send out his planes on your request?

[Rose] Absolutely. There must be no doubt about it: NATO is here only as a support force. And it is a first: A regional defense organization coming to support a UN peacekeeping force. I am positive: Not a single NATO bomb will be dropped without my order. With the exception of a plane acting in self-defense, of course.

[Girard] Was your tactical approach—enforcing the cease- fire and sending Blue Helmets to guard Serb batteries—not inconsistent with a strategic decision to perform even a symbolic strike in order to convince the Serbs of Western determination?

[Girard] I am very clear on the matter. Our first priority is to make sure humanitarian aid comes through. This is a matter of survival for 2,700,000 people in Bosnia. Our second priority is to facilitate the creation of safe havens, one of them being Sarajevo. We will be able to carry out such missions as long as we remain noncombatants. As soon as we become combatants—see what happened in Somalia—we become helpless.

'Our Planes Would Blow It to Smithereens'

There is one question left: How do we reconcile air strikes and continued noncombatant status? Simple. The use of air power must remain proportional and strictly connected to this or that violation of the ultimatum. It must be a way to strike back, not to change the military balance or the political landscape. I developed a number of principles:

—Any strike must be directed at the guilty party.

—It must be proportionate: You are not going to destroy a whole army because someone fired at you once.

—It is necessary to determine in the field whether the target is a legitimate one.

[Girard] Meaning... ?

[Rose] Let us take an example. Very recently, a U.S. plane told us about hostile fire, speculating that it might have been a 20-mm three-tube cannon (a weapon banned by the ultimatum). We sent a military monitor to check it out and it turned out that it had been only a young man wasting his 12.7-mm machine gun's ammunition for the hell of it. This cretin was not worth an air strike. However, should an artillery regiment—on whatever side—attempt to reassemble and to fire on or from Sarajevo, then our planes would blow it to smithereens.

[Girard] Then weapons will now surely remain silent in Sarajevo?

[Rose] Both armies have now gotten as far as was possible for them. Without their artillery, the Serbs cannot conquer any more land, supposing they want to. (...) The Bosnians know that they cannot substantially alter the military situation with ground soldiers only. They have been paying attention to Western pressure. In Sarajevo, we have reached a kind of climax as far as military operations are concerned, which will make it possible for the peace plan to be implemented.

Military Expert on Bosnian Antiaircraft Systems

LD2502190994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1934 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 17 (TANJUG)—Paul Beaver, a prominent British military expert said Thursday that Bosnian Serbs possessed a series of anti-aircraft systems to respond to NATO air strikes in case they are launched against the Serbs' positions around Sarajevo.

The analyst of the British Jane's defence military magazine in an interview to the VOA monitored in Belgrade, said that the Bosnian Serbs not only possessed missiles with a 40-km range and a number of anti-aircraft and shoulder rocket launchers, but also a completely new Russian system called SA-16. NATO says the system is difficult to counter.

Beaver said Bosnian Serbs possessed a large number of anti-aircraft cannon and added that most of the aircraft in the Gulf war as well as in the Falklands war 12 years ago, were known to be shot down by the infantry fire from the ground.

The analyst thus warned that the West should not be led into believing that the war planes would be able to launch attacks on the Sarajevo surroundings without being exposed to danger.

He said that on top of that NATO did not have the best trained pilots in the world. Last Wednesday NATO threatened the Bosnian Serbs and Moslems they would be bombed unless they withdrew their heavy artillery in and around Sarajevo or place it under U.N. control.

Although the NATO ultimatum concerns all three sides to the Bosnian conflict, many Western politicians and media regard the ultimatum as directed to the Bosnian Serbs alone.

Muslims Attempting Breakthrough in Mostar

LD2702163994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Muslim infantry units attempted to break through the demarcation line in Mostar town center at around 1100 today. They used infantry weapons and also fired 27 bazooka and recoilless gun shells. [passage omitted]

Since the cease-fire came into force, the Muslims have attempted more infantry breakthroughs than in the 20 days preceding the agreement, Bosnian Croat Defense Council Spokesman Veso Vegar said.

UN Reports Shelling of Mostar Breaks Truce

AU2702134494 Paris AFP in English 1144 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Text] Medjugorje, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Feb 27 (AFP)—Shelling on the Moslem-held part of Mostar, in southern Bosnia, has broken a truce agreed between Bosnian army and Croat officials for two days running, a UN spokesman said here Sunday.

Eleven shells fell on the eastern part of the city late Saturday and two explosions were heard early Sunday in the same area, Colonel Antonio Castro of the UN Protection Force's (UNPROFOR) Spanish battalion said.

"It's the first time the ceasefire has really been violated," the spokesman said. The truce went into effect on Friday [25 February] at 1200 GMT.

Castro said an investigation would have to be held to determine who is responsible for the shelling. The Spanish battalion has its headquarters in Medjugorje, around 20 kilometres (12 miles) from Mostar.

The city is divided between the Croat troops who hold the western part and have besieged for the past six month the Moslem-held eastern part where some 50,000 people are trapped.

During the two weeks preceeding the ceasefire agreement, an average of the 10 shells fell daily on the eastern part.

HVO Commander Protests Cease-Fire Violations

LD2702220194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Text] General Ante Rose, chief of staff of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], has lodged a protest note with General Jean Cot, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] commander for the area of the former Yugoslavia, and General Michael Rose, UN peace force commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, following cease-fire violations by the Bosnia-Herzegovina army. In his letter General Roso states that Muslim forces launched a heavy attack today on the free territory of Zepce, using mortars and howitzers. One HVO soldier was killed and three wounded in these attacks.

In his letter General Roso says that Muslim forces organized and staged an HVO attack on their positions on the eastern side of Mostar. They had in advance positioned TV cameramen who were supposed to film this artillery action, thus gaining a certain political as well as military advantage. General Roso demands that UNPROFOR take measures on the ground in order to thwart similar action.

Muslim 'Fanatics' Trying To Expand Territories

AU2502152294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Report by Zoran Gurgurevic from Doboj]

[Text] All the fronts in the operative zone of the Operational Group Doboj are being exposed to a fierce Muslim offensive, in which the forces of the 2d and 3d Corps of the Muslim army are involved. The heaviest attacks against the army of the Srpska republic are under way on the fronts very close to Doboj, so the general alarm is in force in the town.

In an offensive that has apparently been prepared in detail, the Muslims are attempting to break through from several directions: from Zenica toward Zavidovici and Maglaj, from (Vracanica) toward Doboj, and from Tesanj and the Usora River valley toward Teslic and Doboj.

At the same time, and despite the signed cease-fire, the Muslim fanatics are attacking Croatian forces in Zepce. The Muslims are obviously trying to expand their territories by force before the peace talks. General Ratko Mladic and General Momir Talic are directing the defense operations of the Srpska republic army in the region.

Muslim Attacks, Muslim-Croat Fighting Reported

LD2602155394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1524 GMT 26 Feb 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zvornik, February 26 (TANJUG)—Fighting continued on Saturday between Bosnian Croats and Moslems despite the agreed ceasefire which became effective at noon on Friday, Bosnian Serb military sources said.

In the area of Mostar in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, the former allies are engaged in artillery duels while Moslem artillery units are firing at Croats in central Bosnia-Herzegovina in the region of Novi Travnik, Kiseljak and Fojnica.

Croats are shelling Moslems in the valley of the Lasva, and the shelling is particularly heavy near Gornji Vakuf and Bugojno, also in central Bosnia.

Regular troops from the Republic of Croatia are also still fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina, despite U.N. Security Council decisions that they must withdraw.

The Croatian Army launched a strong artillery attack from Croatian territory against Serb areas in Posavina, a region in northern Bosnia along the border with Croatia. The attack directly threatened the Bijeljina-Banja Luka road which links eastern and western parts of the Bosnian Serb republic.

Bosnian Serb military circles interpreted this attack as resulting from the latest Croat-Moslem ceasefire agreement and underscored that Bosnian Serb forces did not return fire after Croat artillery launched attacks from the left bank of the Sava.

Provocative and offensive actions by Moslem units against the Serb side also continued in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and were even stepped up in some areas, TANJUG learned from Bosnian Serb military circles.

The heaviest Moslem mortar and artillery attacks took place in eastern Bosnia from the regions of Kalesija and Olovo, where the Moslem infantry was also active.

Meanwhile, Moslem units are regrouping and moving their weapons on the Kladanj-Zivinica direction.

In northwestern Bosnia, Moslem artillery-infantry attacks on Serb territory, which began several days ago, continued from the region of Bihac.

Karadzic Protests Muslim Trench-Building

LD2602224094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2134 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic [RS], this evening warned the UN Secretary General's special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, that Muslim forces are abusing the Sarajevo cease-fire in order to gain a military advantage.

In a letter to Akashi, a copy of which has been sent to TANJUG, Karadzic points out that since the first day of the cease-fire Muslim forces have been moving their trench lines towards Serb positions.

"These engineering works have been going on constantly, right up to today," Karadzic alleges, assessing that this is "an attempt to improve their military position under cover of the cease-fire."

The RS president points out that these Muslim cease-fire violations are being carried out in many places—in Mojmilo (three or four places), in the Jewish cemetery, in the Dobrinja-Vojkovici area (two places), Rajlovac (three places), on Zuc (two places), in Brijesce and in the Butmir-Ilidza area.

"We strongly protest against these Muslim military activities, which are a clear and flagrant violation of the Serb-Muslim agreement reached on 9 February," Karadzic writes, assessing that "this cease-fire which was realized with such difficulty is now under serious threat."

"Furthermore, the whole peace process is now in danger. Unless the newly dug Muslim trenches are abandoned and destroyed, the already begun measures to build confidence will suffer huge damage," Karadzic assesses, adding that "if something is not done quickly," the Serb side will not be able to continue its cooperation in the efforts to achieve peace in the Sarajevo region.

Presidency Announces Reorganization of Army

LD2602215594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Excerpt] The presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina held a session today, chaired by President of the Presidency Alija Izetbegovic.

The presidency passed a decision on changes in the territorial organization of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army: A new, 7th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has been set up, and the 6th Corps has been abolished, or rather, merged with the 4th Corps [operating in the Mostar area]. Brigadier Mehmed Alagic, former commander of the 3d Corps [operating in the Zenica area] of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, has been appointed commander of the 7th Corps. Brigadier Sahib Mahmudin, former chief of staff of the 3d Corps of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army, has been appointed commander of the 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

The presidency accepted the resignation of Mufid Memija from the post of director general of Sarajevo Radio-Television. Amila Omerpasic, electrical engineer, has been appointed acting director general. [passage omitted]

Croatians Present New Proposals in Washington

LD2702202294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Report by Jozo Curic]

[Text] Washington—The Croatian-U.S. meeting ended late this afternoon, Central European time. Foreign Minister Mate Granic, President Zubak [of the presidential council of Herceg-Bosna], and Minister Akmadzic talked to Clinton's special envoy Redman, Warren Christopher's assistant Oxman, and Ambassadors Galbraith and Jakovich. Then the Bosnian side met the Americans. They talked about the models of organizing a new Bosnia-Herzegovina in future confederal links between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Following consultations with President Tudjman, the Croatian side presented its hosts with new proposals. As we have learned from sources close to the State Department, at the meeting the Croatian representatives insisted on full protection for the rights of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This, the Croatians believe, is the most essential element of the agreement.

Two models are being studied behind closed doors in the State Department. According to one, the two republics would be linked up in a federal state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the other envisages the creation of cantons some of which would be predominantly Croat while the others would be predominantly Bosnian. Every canton would have its inherent [izvorni] sovereignty and authority. This authority would then be vested in the federal state of Bosnia- Herzegovina.

Observers stress that these cantons would be organized in two unions, a union of Croat cantons and a union of Bosnian cantons. There are reports that Croat cantons might include municipalities with a majority Muslim population while Muslim cantons might include municipalities with a majority Croat population. Mechanisms of mutual protection for members of the Croat and the Muslim people in these municipalities, each of which would be linked to its own union of cantons, were also discussed. According to some reports, there is a possibility of dividing powers between federal bodies—that is, president, bicameral parliament, government, and constitutional court—and intercantonal bodies.

Minister Granic told reporters outside the State Department that the talks will continue and that further details will be known late this evening, Central European time, or even later. The two delegations and their hosts agreed that no details about the talks should be disclosed. Asked about the atmosphere at the meeting and whether any side had ruled out the possibility of reaching agreement, Granic told Croatian television: There is a working

atmosphere at the meeting. No one has ruled out agreement although there still remain open issues.

Observers in Washington have learned that the confederal model between Croatia and a new Bosnia-Herzegovina was discussed for the first time today. For the time being any details are regarded as secret. The United States intends to draw up its own text on the basis of the Croatian and Muslim proposal. Also mentioned were a monetary and customs union and an economic and defense agreement between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Central Bosnia was also discussed as well as protective mechanisms for the Croats there. There are also a number of options and models of involving the Serbs.

As we file this report intensive consultations are still in progress. The hosts are sticking to the principle of talking separately to the Croatian and Bosnian representatives.

Dangers of Uncontrolled Flights Discussed

AU2702215394 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 94 p 5

[Article by D. Vujicic: "God—The Only Controller"]

[Text] One of the dailies published the news that "a close encounter between General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Srpska republic army, who was flying in his helicopter and two U.S. F-16 fighters has recently taken place in the skies above the former Bosnia-Herzegovina." According to this story, the U.S. fighters descended to the height at which general's helicopter was flying, waved to him with their wings and flew their own way.

The air force of the Srpska republic army is not familiar with this event, however, in Bosnia—a land of miracles, anything is possible.

They say that on a clear night one can count more aircraft and helicopters in the sky above the former Bosnia-Herzegovina than there are stars. There is noone who has not been flying—the command of Srpska republic army air force says—especially since "the no-fly" directive.

Since NATO aircraft began patrolling over this republic, the North Atlantic air force has carried out more than 12,000 flights above Bosnia, of which more than 7,000 were combat flights. As our source explains, NATO classifies as noncombat flights those that carry humanitarian aid and transport organization officials. The UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], too, have carried out thousands of flights by airplanes and helicopters, and the air force of the Republic of Croatia does not pay much attention to the no-fly directive either.

The Croats have actually never stopped flying over the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in the latest Croatian Army and Croatian Defense Council operations in central Bosnia they have been using helicopters daily.

According to foreign sources, the Muslim army has 14 Hind helicopters and four ultralight airplanes, which are also carrying our combat flights.

Since they have been on this mission, NATO aircraft have not downed a single aircraft of either side. Our sources claim that the opportunity to do this presents itself some 10 to 20 occasions daily, which is how many Muslim and Croatian flights Serbian radars register over Bosnia on average. To illustrate this information, our source says that, for example, Serbian radars the day before yesterday registered 117 flights over this republic, 10 of which were carried out by the Croats and Muslims.

God alone controls and coordinates these flights above Bosnia. NATO plans its routes and controls them from Vicenza [Italy] by means of AWACS aircraft in the Adriatic Sea. The Croats do this via Zagreb, and the Muslims most probably from Zenica, even though they surrendered control of the skies to the Croats in May 1992. UNPROFOR, although it cooperates with NATO, also uses its own systems for navigation of aircraft, most probably from Sarajevo. Must one should point out that there is no coordination between them.

Finally, our source, who is otherwise a senior military expert in the Serbian Republic Army, says that it is a real miracle that there have been no crashes and major tragedies above Bosnia so far. He warns that anything is possible in the skies over Bosnia-Herzegovina, bearing in mind the absence of flight controllers. Such aa situation could be used against the Serbian side, which really flies only when it has to, that is, when wounded need to be transported to hospitals.

[Box p 5]

Blind Flights

What distinguishes the flights of the Croats, the Muslims, and the Serbs over the former Bosnia-Herzegovina from NATO and UNPROFOR flights is that "home boys" try to avoid using radio during the flight in order to remain unnoticed. They are, therefore, flying blind as the local pilots know the terrain like their backyard.

According to military circles, NATO fighters have more or less given up chasing these aircraft as pilots manage to mislead them and land on time. On the other hand, there have been cases of "remote control aircraft" being sent over mountain peaks to taunt U.S. radars and aircraft.

Progress of Washington Talks Examined

LD2702222094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Excerpt] President Clinton expects success in the talks between the delegations of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Here is a report from Washington:

[Unidentified correspondent] It cannot exactly be said that the talks between the delegations of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which began at the State Department yesterday, have achieved any particular progress. However, the fact that the timing of the talks, set by the

Americans, has been observed promises that a positive conclusion of the Washington talks on internal organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina can be expected as early as tomorrow afternoon.

This morning the formulation of the republic's name was on the agenda, a name which should—mapart from the geographic and historical name of Bosnia-Herzegovina—also contain a constitutional solution, such as federation, confederation, union, ano so forth. None of the solutions has been adopted so far.

Bosnian territories currently under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army, and the territories under HVO [Croat Defense Council] control, which—we must not forget—are also Bosnian territories, should during the negotiations be defined as parts of the overall territory which is currently not under occupation, populated by citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosniaks, Croats, Serbs, and others, with the right to have the occupied territories reintegrated into the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina when this is rendered possible.

Let me also emphasize that the future state, according to this agreement, looks increasingly similar to the original Vance-Owen plan. According to the plan Bosnia-Herzegovina is divided into 17 cantons. The unified Bosnian [word indistinct] is only the western and central territory; that is, the Bosnian territories populated by the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosniaks, Croats, and others. It would be the successor of the state sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina and would remain a recognized member of the United Nations.

The Americans particularly insist that in this phase the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be approached by first halting the Bosnian-Croat hostilities, then by restoring their alliance, and by articulating the territorial interests of the Bosnian people, who would thus preserve their own access to the sea, which they have had throughout their history, but which has been territorially reduced in repeated enemy agression. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Supports NATO Air Force Action

LD2802144894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, who is on a two-day official visit to Albania, after the talks with his host Albanian President Sali Berisha expressed support for the NATO air force action today against the Serb planes, which had been violating the UN resolution on the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He described it is a sign of resoluteness by the international community to oppose Serb aggression and Russian interference in the Balkans. We completely agree with international factors, the United States, the EU, and NATO showing greater resolve in suppressing aggression. We interpret this as a signal that the international community will continue to take resolute steps to end the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and create preconditions for peace, the Croatian president said.

In reply to Albanian journalists' questions, the Croatian president said NATO's latest move also demonstrated the resoluteness of the world's greatest super-power, the United States, to oppose Russian interference in the Balkans. As I have already said, I see this as a display of the resolve of the main European countries and the biggest world super-power, the United States, to oppose the Serb aggression, and, I would also say, Russian interference in the Balkans, Tudjman replied.

Krajina-Croatian Cease-Fire Extended to 31 Mar

LD2602161794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] Knin, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The republic of Serb Krajina and the Republic of Croatia today signed a document extending the cease-fire agreement until 31 March. Apart from the extension of the cease-fire, the warring sides agreed to continue talks on reaching a general cease-fire.

This is the third time the cease-fire agreement between Krajina and Croatia—originally signed on 17 December 1993—has been extended. The cease-fire has been holding, apart from sporadic provocations on the part of the Croatian Army, especially in northern Dalmatia and Lika.

In the presence of Colonel Wood and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] Commander Jean Cot the [extension] document was signed by Colonel Kosta Novakovic, assistant commander of the Serb Krajina army, in agreement with the civilian and military authorities of Krajina.

Granic on Speech to UN Human Rights Commission

LD2402154394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Feb 94

[Text] Mate Granic, vice president and minister for foreign affairs, has addressed the annual session of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Jadranka Kosor spoke to Granic over the phone following his address:

[Kosor] Croatia has sharply condemned every kind of violation of human rights, Mate Granic said in his address.

[Begin Granic recording] In addition to this, I spoke clearly in my address about ways envisaged by the Republic of Croatia to resolve the current crisis, both with regard to the negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina and to relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. the normalization of these relations, which crucially depend on developments in the UN Protected Areas, that is the reintegration of these areas into the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia.

I also stressed that—regardless of Mr. Mazowiecki's report, the U.S. State Department's report, and those of some other important nongovernmental organizations in which they reflect on some violations of human rights in Croatia—Croatia has, nevertheless, welcomed all international institutions. They conduct their activities in the former Yugoslavia from their bases in Croatia. [end recording]

[Kosor] Croatia proposed to the Human Rights Commission a special resolution in which the problem of missing persons would be treated as separate from other humanitarian problems. Representatives of associations of families of missing persons and POW's are also in Geneva, Granic said. They were received by the president of the Human Rights Commission today. The Croatian foreign affairs minister has left Geneva for London.

Knin Rally Against UNPROFOR Reported

LD2502141994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Knin, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Due to the full blockade of western Slavonia, which is still in progress, protest meetings were held in the republic of Serb Krajina today where citizens and young people expressed displeasure and indignation over UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] behavior.

Several thousand citizens of Knin spontaneously rallied in the square in front of the railway station in the Krajina capital this morning. The rally was addressed by members of the Citizens' Protest committee and representatives of other citizens' and youth organizations.

"Our freedom is being threatened, world powers wish to transform us into a camp," this is only one of the messages that were voiced at this rally.

The attitude of the citizens of Krajina is best reflected in placards carried by young citizens of Knin: "We cannot give up western Slavonia," "Protection yes, occupation no," "UNPROFOR, go to the Croatian border."

Similar messages were voiced at other rallies in Krajina, in Vojnic, Benkovac, and other towns where strong support was voiced for Milan Martic, the president of

the republic of Serb Krajina, to defend Krajina's sovereignty in talks with UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi today.

Protest Made to Slovenia Over Piran Bay

LD2502192694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader today delivered a protest note to Andrej Zlebnik, charge d'affaires at the Slovene Embassy in Zagreb, in the absence of Slovene Ambassador Malesic. The note refers to frequent incidents involving Slovene police in Croatian territorial waters in Piran Bay.

The note says that such incidents preempt a final solution of the border problem in Piran Bay, which is being addressed by a joint Croatian-Slovene diplomatic border commission.

Deputy Minister Sanader says that Croatia is interested in maintaining good neighborly relations with Slovenia and solving all open issues by mutual agreement.

Speaker Calls For Cooperation With Assemblies

LD2602210294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1801 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] Knin, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Bnanko Vojnica, speaker of the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], has sent, via the diplomatic and consular offices in Belgrade, a letter to representatives of all parliaments in the world calling on them to establish working contacts with Krajina's parliament.

Since your government does not recognize the RSK government and does not want to exchange information and engage in arguments with it, I suggest that our two parliaments establish working contacts and thus contribute to ending the war and the suffering of innocent people and to solving all disputes in the territory of the former Yugoslavia by peaceful means, the letter says.

Vojnica informs the parliaments about the history of the Serb people in the territory of former Croatia and stresses that the Serbs do not want to live in the same state with Croats.

The letter also quotes the results of the multiparty elections held in the RSK last December, and says that through the elections the people of the RSK confirmed their right to self-determination.

U.S. Policy Objectives in Balkans Examined

AU2402154094 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 94 p 2

[Mate Piskor commentary: "Peace Without the 6th Fleet?"]

[Text] "When will the 6th Fleet arrive?" many wondered at the beginning of the aggression on Croatia. What is the United States waiting for, why do they allow the destruction of the Yalta system, others wondered, marveling at messages totally different from what they hoped for, primarily from Baker, Zimmermann, Eagleberger, and other officials of the Bush administration. A third group thought that the United States only needed time to wake up and that it would intervene in favor of the just cause sooner or later.

Much water has passed under the bridge since then, as it was three years ago, but those who claimed the United States needed time to realize, or better yet, find its interest in the matter seem to have been right. Our country did not get help from the 6th Fleet, but something else—with far-reaching consequences for Croatia—has begun to happen, both regarding the involvement of the United States in solving the Balkan crisis, understanding the real situation, and making moves that could produce results.

Mr. Charles Redman, President Clinton's special envoy, who has visited Zagreb twice in the last week, has made it clear that the Clinton administration is very seriously involved in trying to find the solution for reaching an agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina, and has pointed out that "the present involvement could lay the foundations for the future of both Bosnia and Croatia, a future in which the two countries would be closely connected with the mainstream of Europe."

What is Redman trying to say? What does the United States want from Croatia and what is it offering in return, pointing out that Croatia could play a pivotal role in helping (the United States) to reach a peaceful solution in Bosnia? First of all, they want Croatia to cooperate and attempt to find a peaceful solution, and they want the Bosnian Croats to do the same, in addition to being prepared to make compromises.

The United States is simply insisting on the immediate cessation of hostilities between the Croats and the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on a new alliance of the two former allies, currently bitter enemies; they want a clear situation so as to be able to put more pressure on the Serbs. What are they trying to accomplish by that? Their primary concern is to give a positive reply to the pressure coming from the Islamic countries, which want the United States to protect the Bosnian Muslims. Moreover, by insisting on connecting the Croatian and Muslim parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina and resting that against the Republic of Croatia, they want to enable that state creation to survive and have firm ties with Europe. Therefore, Redman promised Croatia, and also a Bosnia-Herzegovina connected to Croatia, integration with the West, the European Union, and the United States.

The Frankfurt rapprochement of Granic's and Silajdzic's negotiating positions is an important indicator of the success and efficiency of the new U.S. approach. And so is the unilateral cease-fire of the Croatian Defense Council, and the clear promise of the West to protect besieged Croatian areas.

The world wants to use the favorable climate created by the NATO ultimatum and the withdrawal of the Serbs—

and the United States has now taken the leading role—to begin the process of normalization on the territory of former Yugoslavia. If the Muslims relinquish their maximalist goals, they will be offered survival and a state fit for existence; the Bosnian Croats are being offered and guaranteed equality in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as safety in the currently besieged enclaves, and Croatia, apart from having the silent economic embargo lifted, is offered inclusion in European and other international integration processes. Furthermore, the United States has made it clear to Croatia that, in addition to solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it will take determined action to establish full sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders.

Post-ultimatum peace initiatives should be taken as seriously as the Serbs are serious in their response to the ultimatum; especially if those initiatives are taken and backed by the United States, which is also pointing out that it is acting in full concordance with the European Union. This initiative—realistically speaking—could finally bring peace to southeastern Europe, even without the direct involvement of the 6th Fleet, although one must never forget that it is close at hand.

Minister Refuses Talks Under Embargo 'Pressure'

AU2502185594 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 25 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "Crvenkovski Gives Statement"]

[Text] Following the talks with European Commissioner, Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski stated his appreciation of the EU [European Union] and Mr. van den Broek's efforts. He pointed out the only positive sides of the whole matter are the EU engagement in the dispute and Mr. van den Broek's permanent contacts with the main mediator Cyrus Vance. "We are ready to discuss all issues, but we are not able to continue the negotiations under such a pressure of the embargo," Crvenkovski said.

EU Commissioner Comments on Mediation Efforts

AU2502205894 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 25 Feb 94 pp 1, 2

[Z. Skerlev report: "Concern About Greece's Embargo"]

[Text] Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov yesterday received Hans van den Broek, EU commissioner for foreign affairs, who stayed in Skopje [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] on his arrival from Athens. According to the information released by the cabinet of the President, Mr. van den Broek transmitted the Greek answer to the written message conveyed by President Gligorov to Greek Prime Minister Papandreou. The meeting, aimed at searching for solutions to problems in Macedonian-Greek relations, and which started two days ago, was continued with the participation of Foreign Minister Branko Crvenkovski.

Before his departure for Brussels, EU Commissioner Van den Broek gave a statement to journalists at the Skopje Airport. "There is good reason to hope we will find mechanisms for restarting the dialogue between Greece and this Republic; however, there are still important problems to be solved," he said. "I do not underestimate the problem with the measures taken by Greece against this Republic, which have burdened the possibilities for deblocking the situation. In any case, we would once again like to make a serious review of the situation, and in Brussels we shall submit a report to the ministers and then see what can be done further on.

"I am grateful for the cooperation we had here, as well as for the willingness to continue our common search for a solution."

Asked when the embargo of Greece against Macedonia would be lifted, van den Broek stated:

"One thing is sure: We shall have to look deeper into the arguments presented by the Greek Government. As far as the European Commission is concerned, we shall review them as soon as we get the message from Prime Minister Papandreou, and then we shall also try to see the possible consequences.

"I must repeat that we are very much concerned about the possible negative effect of these measures on the country and the stability in the region, and apparently we shall have to follow the situation very closely.

"It is also clear that the problem standing behind them should keep our attention," van den Broek said. "I repeat, if the question about the measures can be solved, then I shall be a greater optimist and I shall have greater hopes that there will be clear perspectives for ending this dispute, this struggle, which is a bad thing for both countries, as well as for the security and stability in the region."

The Greek journalists wanted to know whether the European Union would sign a commercial agreement with Macedonia. Van den Broek replied he certainly hoped it could be possible, because the Union has signed agreements with other countries, too. "We need a consensus for this," he said, "but my experience is that a commercial cooperation with this country is important for the future and we shall urge the things as much as possible. Nevertheless, I also have the feeling that significant progress in the solution of the bilateral problems must be achieved, and I am convinced that we shall undounbtedly receive cooperation for that from this government."

Despite the fact that van den Broek did not answer the question whether and when he would visit Skopje and Athens again, as we have found out, that possibility remains open and real.

[Box, p 2]

It Is Difficult To Talk Under Embargo

Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski escorted Mr. van den Broek to Skopje Airport and gave a short statement.

Asked about the results after the visit of van den Broek, Crvenkovski answered that long discussions were held with the European Commissioner and that he was very well acquainted with our stances expressed at the meeting of yesterday and the one of two days ago. "On our side," Crvenkovski said, "we explicitly stated we were ready to cooperate with him in solving all these problems. Nonetheless, we were also explicit that we find ourselves in an almost impossible situation to continue normally any discussions under the pressure of the embargo."

Concerning the possible positive elements in Macedonian-Greek relations, Crvenkovski assessed that there are positive elements in the very fact that van den Broek was engaged in the discussions and in the fact that the European Union was engaged in searching for an outcome of the whole situation. "Moreover," Crvenkovski said, "Mr. van den Broek is in constant contact with Mr. Cyrus Vance in New York, who is the main mediator in the dispute, and it certainly is a positive element. At this moment, I am really not able to say anything more."

Russian Mediation in Ties With Athens Rumored

AU2702172094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Report by Nevenka Jovicic]

[Text] Judging by everything, it appears that Moscow is taking the initiative in resolving the strained relations between Athens and Skopje [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], which will, if it proves as successful as in the recent Russian action that stopped NATO bombing in Bosnia, confirm the authority and power of the new Russian foreign policy.

The announcement of Russian mediation in a dispute in the south of Balkans will not please the West and NATO in the least. They are, according to what the weekly TO VIMA TIS KIRIAKIS writes today, already rather alarmed by Russia's rapid and unexpected diplomatic offensive.

Although Greece's official reply to Moscow's proposal to mediate in resolving the dispute with Skopje has not been made public here, TO VIMA announces the beginning of a new action by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is already supposed to visit FYROM next week.

This latest move by Moscow in an area of the Balkans in which Washington and NATO have shown such an open interest will cause new worries for the West, political circles here assess. It is also being pointed out that the worries of the West will be even greater as this latest Russian diplomatic action confirms the increasingly closer links between Russia and Greece, which are drawn together by friendship between peoples, the same religion, and historic roots.

The West's fears of Russia's growing role have already resulted in the so-called Partnership for Peace agreement starting to take the shape of an association of countries based on exclusively anti-Russian orientation, TO VIMA comments.

Greece itself announces a much more active and aggressive policy in the Balkans to protect its national interest. According to Khristos Saliberis, chief of the Greek General Staff, carried by today's TO VIMA, Greek policy is moving from the defensive to the offensive, which basically means the neutralization of aggressive neighbors like Turkey and protection of Greeks from Epirus to Cyprus.

Minister, Opposition Leader View Blockade

AU2802094494 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 0600 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Report by Veronika Seyr from Skopje]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Greek punitive blockade is not only causing serious economic damage in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], a country that has been strangled by Yugoslavia's disintegration, the wars in Croatia and Bosnia, and the UN embargo against Serbia. The economic situation is desperate and the political consequences are unpredictable, says Petrus Stefanov, economics minister in Skopje.

[Begin Stefanov recording, in Macedonian with superimposed translation into German] The blockade is seriously endangering our economy, but it also affects the overall political situation. It is a direct attack on the stability of the whole region. [end recording]

The nationalist opposition in Macedonia sees all its fears confirmed. Ljupco Georgijevksi from the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization says:

[Begin Georgijevski recording, in Macedonian with superimposed translation into German] The decision of the Greek Government has not surprised me very much. It is the logical consequence of the Greek policies of the past three years. I would not be surprised either if Athens were to resort to military means. This is a cold war against Macedonia, a cold war which is aggravating the conflicts in the whole of the Balkans and also has consequences for Europe. Accordingly, we deplore that the European Community is not doing enough. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Federal

General Staff: No Aircraft Overflying Bosnia

LD2802113294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1007 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 28 February (TANJUG)—The General Staff of the Yugoslav Army categorically rejects the possibility that the four planes that were shot down this morning by NATO fighters belonged to the Yugoslav Air Force, a TANJUG journalist was told today by the Yugoslav Army General Staff.

Yugoslav Army planes, respecting the UN Security Council resolution banning flights over the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, did not fly around or overfly this zone, the Yugoslav Army General Staff stresses.

Since the establishment of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Army planes have not flown outside FRY air space, they stress at the General Staff. [passage omitted]

Jovanovic Warns on Croat-Muslim Alliance

LD2702204794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, Feb 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic expressed fear on Sunday that no peaceful motives stood behind the pressures on the Bosnian Moslems and Croats to renew their alliance. In a statement to the Kragujevac radio, Jovanovic warned that a strategy of forming an alliance between the two Bosnian peoples against the third (Bosnian Serbs) would lead to further escalation of the crisis and the continuation of war.

The Yugoslav foreign minister lent support to any effort towards narrowing differences between any of two peoples in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, except those motived by the formation of alliance against a third people.

Jovanovic said he was confident that on the Croat side those forces interested in peace are stronger than those which would like to seek their chance in some new war adventure.

At the initiative of Washington, the talks between Croatia, the Bosnian Croats and Moslems on a common Bosnian Croat-Moslem state opened on Saturday. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Milosevic 'Associate' Views B-H Conflict

AU2802175794 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 19 Feb 94 p 7

[Interview with Dusan Mitevic, "close associate" of President Slobodan Milosevic," by Albena Shkodrova, "especially for STANDART NEWS"; place and date not given: "If the Serbs Down U.S. Aircraft in Self-Defense, No One Will Be Able To Stop the War"]

[Text] People close to government circles in Belgrade say it is easier to get into Milosevic's office than to meet with Dusan Mitevic. The other thing that people say about this almost mythical figure is that if Mitevic had not existed, neither Milosevic nor Milan Panic would have appeared in Serbian politics. Mitevic is a close associate of Milosevic, and it is no secret that he will become prime minister if the Serbian president manages to win a majority in parliament.

Mitevic was a member of the Communist Party leadership in the former Yugoslavia as far back as in Tito's time and for many years, he was in charge of the state radio and television. "He had at least 5,000 people under him," people close to Mitevic claim.

At the moment, Mitevic is one of the leading economic figures in Belgrade. He is in charge of MP Holdings, which is actually "Milan Panic Holdings"—a company registered in Los Angeles and owned by the former Yugoslav prime minister. In his spare time, Mitevic is the shadow ruler of the FRY. Albena Shkodrova interviewed him specially for STANDART NEWS.

[Shkodrova] Do you think NATO will fulfill its threat of launching air strikes against the Serbian positions in Bosnia?

[Mitevic] I believe that reason will prevail at the last moment. However, it is clear that the threat is perfectly serious.

I believe that all nations are good, but I do not believe in the abstract humanity of society. I am sure that the NATO countries are psychologically prepared to bomb us. Since they permitted bombardments in Somalia, Iraq, and other parts of the world, what will stop them allowing it here as well?

When I said that reason will prevail, I had in mind only that in the final analysis someone will calculate what the world will gain and what it will lose by undertaking this drastic military and political action. Only this logic will save the Serbs from bombardment. In this connection, I think it is of absolutely no importance whether they position this here or remove that from there.

Regarding the bombing issue, two big questions arise:

If NATO bombs the Serbs, it will be clear that the United Nations is no longer what it was, that the organization no longer acts as a world parliament, given that a military alliance (which NATO is) can calmly reject the view of the United Nations and walk over them.

In addition, it raises questions about international political order in general, about the laws governing the conduct of states and governments. I think that world public opinion should think carefully about what a precedent this creates for violating international order.

[Shkodrova] What is Russia's role in this?

[Mitevic] As a result of Gorbachev's policies, Russia is the United States' most important partner. If Washington disregards Russia, the forces in Russia that want

it to conduct an independent policy will win the upper hand and put a question mark over the future of the Yeltsin administration.

As partners of the Russians, the Americans should carefully consider what they will gain and what they will lose from this operation. I can swear to you that they will gain nothing except negative consequences.

Bosnia is not Somalia. It is no desert. Here only the civilians will suffer, while nothing will happen to the military. The greatest danger is that in defending themselves, the Serbs may shoot down U.S. aircraft. Then no one will be able to stop the war—the United States will have a reason to seek vengeance, and Russia will have to intervene as well.

If world public opinion is really interested in ending this war, why does it not simply apply pressure to the Muslims to make them sign the treaty proposed by the peace mediators. Under this treaty, the Muslims will get much more territory than they are entitled to, based on the size of their population.

[Shkodrova] What position do you expect Bulgaria to adopt in this situation?

[Mitevic] The position of nonintervention by the Balkan countries in the conflict that President Zhelev has been defending for a long time is in my view a very good one. Everyone should refrain from using weapons, because when two people are fighting, one should see who they are and separate them instead of everyone joining in the fight so that it is not clear who is hitting whom.

I hope the Bulgarians will realize this, because what is at issue is a historical conflict on a world scale. What is happening in Yugoslavia is merely a training exercise. It is part of the attempt to break up Russia. It is clear to the Western world that the Russian giant is dozing at the moment. Accordingly, they are trying to destroy him, to prevent him from ever rising to his feet again.

[Shkodrova] Do you consider that some EU countries are more guilty than others?

[Mitevic] Of course. In my opinion, everything that is happening in the former Yugoslavia is a result of Germany beginning to implement its policy in the Balkans. As far as they are concerned, the existence of our federation was always a barrier for them.

The present war is really a religious one. According to the Germans' plans, then want to separate off the Catholics—the Croats and Slovenes, while Bosnia is supposed to become Muslim. This is a war against the Orthodox Christians.

[Shkodrova] When the war finally ends, do you think the Serbs will still face any charges of being the aggressor?

[Mitevic] So far the Serbs have been continuously condemned, including being blamed for things that have not been proved. For example, regarding the latest incident in Sarajevo not only is there no proof against the Serbs, but also there are many more signs pointing to the Muslims. Despite this, the Serbs were accused.

As far as guilt is concerned, the world is still arguing about who was responsible for World War I.

Everyone has made mistakes in this war. This is also true of the Western democratic states, which recognized Slovenia and Croatia—and Bosnia as well—much too early. This is precisely what provoked the conflict. The West interceded on the side of the Muslims, with whose policies neither the Serbs nor the Croats could agree. The strategy followed by [former German Foreign Minister] Genscher caused the conflict.

Long after the war has ended, the Serbs will have to prove what actually happened and it will take them many long years to remove the stain from their. Personally, I believe that in the end the truth will be understood. The question is how much it will cost.

[Shkodrova] Do you think any change may be expected in Serbia's foreign policy?

[Mitevic] No, the primary problem is to stop the war. After this, we will then think about paying more attention to our neighbors and to the security of the region. The Balkan nations will emerge from this war somewhat sobered up. The humanitarian aid that came to us through Bulgaria and Romania has drawn us closer to these countries. I think that our relations with them will become an important component of our foreign policy, because the events of last year have taught us something. If you recall, there was a play called "Australia Is Far Away"; our neighbors are most important for us.

I think that after the end of the war, the [former] Yugoslav peoples will once again draw closer together, and later all the Balkan countries will do the same thing. If we are together, this provides us with a great deal of power—access to three seas and—why not?—a unified system of telecommunications, transportation, and so on.... Geographically speaking, our countries are destined to live side by side.

[Shkodrova] Do you think that Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] will no longer pose a problem in the Balkans?

[Mitevic] It is difficult to say because I am unable to foresee how the dispute between Greece and Macedonia will end.

However, Yugoslavia has an interest in this country [Macedonia] remaining as it is. What its name is does not bother us.

In actual fact, the dispute between Macedonia and Greece boils down to a linguistic dispute, and the pride and obstinacy of the two peoples have added fuel to the flames. I consider that both Serbia and Bulgaria should help Macedonia to develop in peace. The Macedonians have nothing to be afraid of. It was to some extent a hysterical reaction on Skopje's part to bring U.S. troops to Macedonia.

It seems to me that the problem of the Albanians is more important for the republic [of Macedonia], just as it is for us in Kosovo.

[Shkodrova] How likely is it that you will become prime minister of the FRY?

[Mitevic] To tell you honestly, I would not particularly want this to happen. I was a state servant for many years, but for the past two years, I have been in private business and have no desire at all to change my situation. A person who has had his tongue burned once always blows on his soup afterwards.

Serbian Official Against Muslim-Croat Alliance

LD2702104694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1015 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, February 27 (TANJUG)—Radmilo Bogdanovic, the president of the Serbian Assembly Committee for Relations with Serbs outside Serbia, said on Saturday that the model of a Moslem-Croat alliance which was being negotiated in Washington was not in the spirit of a peaceful solution for the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

That is why such a plan is not encouraging, he said. If it is realized, the position of Serbs will become unfavourable, Bogdanovic told the local radio station in Jagodina, central Serbia.

"Taking into consideration the United States support, Moslems might get even greater appetites for new territorial concessions, and Croatia might try to realize through war that which the West has allegedly promised it—a quick solution to the problem of the Croatian territory under Serb control," he warned.

"This would lead to a new aggravation of the conflict, which we are absolutely against," Bogdanovic underscored. The people and the leaderships of the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina "certainly cannot accept that," Bogdanovic said.

The Republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed by Serbs in 1991 in parts of the territory of Croatia where they are the majority population in answer to Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslav Federation. In early 1992, Krajina was proclaimed a United Nations Protected Area.

"It is our stand that weapons should be laid down wherever there is bloodshed, and that a solution which is just and equal for all and not detrimental to any of the warring sides should be embraced," Bogdanovic said.

Tri-partite talks between Croatia, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Moslems, with the mediation of the United States, on a joint Croat-Moslem state in Bosnia-Herzegovina began in Washington on Saturday. Under the Washington plan, Moslems and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina would form a joint state entity. Such a community would then enter into a confederation with neighbouring Croatia, to which Croatian President Franjo Tudjman already agreed in principle on Thursday.

Kosovo

Rugova Hails Clinton Statement on Kosovo

AU2702160094 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 26 Feb 94 pp 1,4

[Report by Shefqet Rexhepj on news conference given by Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosova, in Prishtina on 25 February: "We Do Not Want the Logic of Yalta To Be Repeated"]

[Text] Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosova, began yesterday's news conference in Prishtina by welcoming U.S. President Clinton's statement, which included the question of Kosova and its settlement, as well as the issue of repression in Kosova, as part of the package on the Bosni ultimatum. This is very important, Ibrahim Rugova said, because it means that Kosova is not being forgotten and will not be left to one side in the context of the overall settlements that will be achieved. He then returned to everyday life in Kosova, which is extremely difficult and fraught with severe repressions, as we see in the draconian sentences meted out to dozens of Albanians, totalling hundreds of years, as in the trial the day before yesterday in Prishtina.

The Academy Exists for Us and the World

Unfortunately, the now familiar process of political show trials, that has left behind such scars and trauma, is still continuing in Kosova. Everything is being done in order to discredit our peaceful movement of nonviolent resistance and to erode the sympathy we enjoy in the world, a sympathy that will contribute to a peaceful solution of the problem of Kosova. We repeat these things in order to make clear the true aim of this smear campaign, which will not have any success. Ibrahim Rugova went on to mention the closure of the premises of the Kosova Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Serbian police's confiscation of its assets. We have nevertheless decided that the academy will continue its work. For us and for the world, the Kosova Academy still exists, and is linked with many world academic institutions and universities.

Raids on Kosova villages are continuing as ever, such as in the communes of Istog, Kline, Ferizaj [Urosevac], Shtime, Lipjan, Fuse Kosove [Kosovo Polje], Malisheve, Peje [Pec], Skenderaj [Srvica], Vushtrri [Vucitrn], and Kacanik. This repression has been continuing particularly in the communes of Kline, Podujeve, and Mitrovice, and its purpose is both to shake the Albanians' out of their convictions and to harm them economically. Repression is continuing against political activists and especially against schools and teachers. All this is raising political tensions in Kosova, and we appeal, President Rugova said, for preventive measures against repression in Kosova.

Talking about the recent initiatives for a settlement to the problems of the former Yugoslavia, Ibrahim Rugova said that Yeltsin's initiative should not supplant a comprehensive settlement, or replace a conference for the

overall solution of these problems which all sides would attend. We do not want the logic of Yalta to repeat itself and prevail again in the Balkans, especially in the former Yugoslavia. We do not want the reappearance of various spheres of interest, which would hamper tendencies both toward fragmentation and integration, or, we would rather say, the process of reorganizing the Balkans. I think that the Russian role in the Balkans should not be biased, but should be on the basis of the international standards and principles of the United Nations and European institutions. Ibrahim Rugova went on to welcome Sali Berisha's visit to Brussels and his signature of the Partnership for Peace agreement, which is a very important step for Albania's integration in Europe and the protection of her security. I also appreciate highly and welcome the report of UN special envoy Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who devoted an entire chapter to the general situation and the discrimination in Kosova.

The Political Parties Are Not Closed to Any Class

Ibrahim Rugova went on to reply to various questions from journalists. Asked what he thought of Albania's participation in NATO's peacekeeping work, Ibrahim Rugova replied that this would be a positive development, because Albania is a geopolitically interesting country, not only for the Balkans and the Mediterranean, but for Europe. Besides having a positive effect on the Albanians, this would also help to balance forces in the Balkans. Asked what he thought of the proposal to create a Muslim-Croatian confederation in Bosnia and how this would affect Kosova, Ibrahim Rugova said that Christopher had proposed this, although it was present as a suggestion even before, when unavailing efforts were being made to create a Croatian-Muslim coalition. If Bosnia is divided on ethnic lines, then confederations of various kinds will be possible. Meanwhile, drawing parallels with Kosova, he said that the Albanian political parties possess documents about the three well-known options on the status of Kosova. Of course, confederations of various kinds would be open to the Albanians too.

Asked about the role of the Coordinating Council of Albanian Political Parties and his own personal role in surmounting various kinds of polarization in Kosova, President Rugova said that the Coordinating Council agreed about overall issues in Kosova and the Albanian territories. There also exists a council of the parties from all the Albanian territories of the former Yugoslavia. Important decisions have been made about the status of Kosova and the Albanians in other areas. I myself have been involved in this council. Of course, it should be more active. We have done a great deal of work on issues in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. Both the council and I myself wanted a common congress to be held in order to overcome divisions, but the congress took place with various fractions. We must not overdramatize this, because such things are possible in political life. Political parties must be in the swim of political events, rather than being self-involved. There must be greater understanding. A common language must be found over the most essential issues, on the basis of democratic principles. I say democratic principles, even though this has become a little stale, but I want to say on the basis of human decency. Work should be done on the basis of agreement, because there can be no political life without agreement. Meanwhile, talking about some of the Albanians' political organizations, he said that the Albanians are in favor of political organization. I have repeated several times that we have set out to be a political nation in the positive sense of the word, not a politicized people, but a political people, which means that we have an organized and guided political life. Of course, there will be minor upheavals, but we must work on all issues on a basis of understanding.

Asked what he thought of the return of former Kosova politicians to the Kosova political scene, President Rugova said that the former Kosova politicians had been present, and they can make their contribution if they wish. They can involve themselves in politics, because the political parties of Kosova are not closed to any section of Kosova society. Meanwhile, in reply to a question about what he thought of the recent trial, at which the personalities of the Kosova leadership were mentioned, Rugova said that it is not true that a defense ministry exists, as was claimed, or any other ministry. Anton Kola and even myself were mentioned at these political show trials, but facts demonstrate that these are shams whose purpose is to discredit the personalities of the Kosova Democratic Alliance and the other Albanian political parties.

Kosova Will Be Open

Asked whether talks with the Serbian side are expected soon, Rugova said that there are no signs of talks. We have attempted, he said, within the framework of the Geneva Conference, to talk about various specific issues concerning people's lives in Kosova, such as education and health, but we achieved no success. Meanwhile, our standpoints are well known, and of course Serbia too has its own views. Our stand is for an independent and neutral Kosova.

This [passage illegible] I often mentioned, Ibrahim Rugova went on to emphasize, that Kosova will be open to both Serbia and Albania, and we must inevitably reconcile ourselves to this fact. This would be the compromise of the Albanian side. We are all burdened with the past, with Berlin Walls here in the Balkans. I often say that Kosova will remain here and will not go to the moon. It will be close to Serbia, to the Serbs, to Albania, FYROM, ETC. Meanwhile, concerning the question of a parallel according to ethnic lines in Bosnia and Kosova, Ibrahim Rugova said that ethnic lines are valid for other people too in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans; asked whether these lines would stretch to certain communes in southern Serbia, Rugova made no comment.

Rugova on Clinton Policy, Mazowiecki Report

AU2502191094 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 25 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosova, gave a news conference in Prishtina today. Let us go to a report by Leke Musolli:

[Musolli] In today's news conference Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosova, first welcomed the attitude of U.S. President Bill Clinton for not leaving the question of Kosova out of the ultimatum addressed to Serbs. With this, it is seen that Kosova and the Albanian question will take their rightful place in the final solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia.

Rugova then briefed reporters on the present reality in Kosova, characterized as it is by Serbian police violence and terror. Recently, the Serbian courts convicted dozens of Albanians to more than 100 years of imprisonment on trumped-up charges. President Rugova said that this violence by the Serbian police aims to imprison Albanians and compromise their peaceful policy for resolving the question of Kosova.

Rugova illustrated the intensity of the police violence with the closure of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the republic of Kosova. However, in spite of this, the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Republic of Kosova will continue to exist and will continue to work and cooperate with all the foreign academies, as it has been doing for many years. This shameful act and the recent police repression have increased the tension in Kosova. That is why president Rugova invited the public and international diplomats to take steps to prevent any possible conflict in Kosova.

Speaking about the recent initiatives on solutions to the problems in former Yugoslavia, Dr. Rugova concentrated on that of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Rugova said that we would not like this to replace the initiative for a global solution of the problems in former Yugoslavia and that we do not want another Yalta in the Balkans. Mr. Rugova said that we would not like the role of the Russian factor in this region to be one-sided. President Rugova said that the Balkans should not be considered as a region of spheres of interest. On the contrary, it should be seen as a sphere of integrating processes.

At today's news conference, President Rugova welcomed the visit of Albanian President Dr. Sali Berisha to Brussels and added that signing the Partnership for Peace agreement will be important not only for Albanians but for the whole region. He also greeted the report by the special envoy of the UN secretary general, Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, which objectively described the violation of human rights and freedoms in Kosova.

At the news conference, Mr. Rugova answered many reporters' questions.

Serbian Army Deploys Forces Near Pristina

AU2602201594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] The Kosova Information Center reports of new movements of Serbian Army in several centers in Kosova. Dozens of trucks have been deployed from a military barracks in Prizren. Meanwhile, 10 tanks and some heavy artillery have been deployed in Hajvali hills near Prishtina.

Serbian Army movements have even been observed in the direction of Gjakove. Heavy cannons have also been installed near Prizren, while 18 tanks have been deployed in Tumosh, Podujeve. Low flights by military planes have become more frequent over Prishtina and other cities in Kosova.

Serbian Army Kills Albanian on FYROM Border

AU2802181094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Today the Serbian Army killed Selman Pajazit Daci at the Hani i Elezit border point between Kosova and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The Kosova Information Center reports that new forces of the Serbian Army have recently been deployed at this border point.